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from the library of the late
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T H E
C O N T I N U A T I O N

Of the L I F E of

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON,

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR of ENGLAND,

A N D

CHANCELLOR of the UNIVERSITY of OXFORD.

Being a C O N T I N U A T I O N of

HIS HISTORY of the GRAND REBELLION,
from the RESTORATION to his
BANISHMENT in 1667.

W R I T T E N B Y H I M S E L F.

Printed from his ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS, given
to the UNIVERSITY of OXFORD by
the Heirs of the late EARL of
CLARENDON.

Ne quid Falsi dicere audeat, ne quid Veri non audeat. Cicero.

V O L U M E T H E T H I R D.

O X F O R D,

At the CLARENDON PRINTING-HOUSE. M.DCC.LIX.

THE
CONTINUATION

OF THE LIST OF

EDWARD EARL OF CLARENDON

AND HIS CONNECTIONS

OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

THE HISTORY OF THE GREAT REFORMATION

AND THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

31269.

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THE CONTINUATION

Of the LIFE of

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON, &c.

85) **T**HE Parliament convened at *Oxford* in greater Numbers than could reasonably have been expected, the Sickness still continuing to rage and spread itself in several Counties; so that between the Danger that was in the Towns infected, and the necessary Severity in other Towns to keep themselves from being infected, it was a very inconvenient Season for all Persons of Quality to travel from their own Habitations. Upon the tenth of *October* the King commanded Both Houses to attend him in *Christ-Church Hall*, and told them, "that He was confident They did all believe, that if it had not been absolutely necessary to consult with them He would not have called them together at that Time, when the Contagion had spread itself over so many Parts of the Kingdom: And He thanked them for their Compliance so far with his Desires."

The Parliament meets at Oxford.

The King's Speech to Both Houses.

His Majesty said, "the Truth was; as He had entered upon the War by their Advice and Encouragement."

“couragement, so He desired that They might as
 “frequently as was possible receive Information of
 “the Effects and Conduct of it, and that He might
 “have the Continuance of their chearful Supply for
 “the carrying it on. He would not deny to them,
 “that it had proved more chargeable than He could ⁽²⁸⁶⁾
 “imagine it would have been: The Addition the
 “Enemy had still made to their Fleets, beyond their
 “first Purpose, made it unavoidably necessary for
 “him to make proportionable Preparations, which
 “God had hitherto blessed with Success in all En-
 “counters. And as They had used their utmost En-
 “deavours by Calumnies and false Suggestions to
 “gain Friends to themselves, and to persuade them
 “to assist them against him, so He had not been
 “wanting to encourage those Princes who had been
 “wronged by the *Dutch*, to recover their own by
 “Force; and in Order thereunto, He had assisted
 “the Bishop of *Munster* with a great Sum of ready
 “Money, and was to continue a Supply to him,
 “who He believed was at that Time in the Bowels
 “of their Country with a powerful Army.

“THOSE Issues, which He might tell them had
 “been made with very much Conduct and Husban-
 “dry (nor indeed did He know that any Thing
 “had been spent that could have been well and safely
 “saved);” He said, “those Expences would not
 “suffer them to wonder, that the great Supply which
 “They gave him for this War in so bountiful a Pro-
 “portion was upon the Matter already spent: So
 “that He must not only expect an Assistance from
 “them to carry on that War, but such an Assistance
 “as might enable him to defend himself and them
 “against a more powerful Neighbour, if He should
 “prefer the Friendship of the *Dutch* before his.”

He put them in Mind, “that when He entered
 “upon this War He had told them, *that He had not*
 “*such a brutal Appetite as to make War for War’s*
 “*Sake*; He was still of the same Mind: He had
 “been

“ been ready to receive any Propositions that *France*
 “ had thought fit to offer to that End, but hitherto
 “ Nothing had been offered worthy his Acceptance;
 “ nor was the *Dutch* less insolent, though He knew
 “ no Advantage They had got but the Continuance
 “ of the Contagion, and He hoped that God Al-
 “ mighty would shortly deprive them of that En-
 “ couragement.”

THE Chancellor at the same Time, by the King's *Substance of*
 Command, made a short Narrative of the History of *the Chancellor's Speech.*
 the War, the Circumstances with which it was be-
 gun, and the Progress it had since made, and the
 Victory that the Duke had attained; of the vast
 Number of the Prisoners and sick and wounded Men;
 a Charge that had never been computed.

HE told them, “ the *French* King had indeed of-
 “ fered his Mediation, and that if He intended no
 “ more than a Mediation, it was an Office very wor-
 “ thy the most Christian King; He wished, that as
 “ a Mediator He would make equal Propositions, or
 “ that He would not so importunately press his Ma-
 “ jesty to consent to those He makes, upon an In-
 “ stance and Argument, *that He holds himself engaged*
 “ *by a former Treaty* (of which his Majesty had never
 “ heard till since the Beginning of the War, and had
 “ some Reason to have presumed the contrary) *to*
 “ *assist the Dutch with Men and Money if his Majesty*
 “ *would not consent.*”

HE said, “ his Majesty had told them, *that He*
 “ *had no Appetite to make War for War's Sake;* but
 “ He would be always ready to make such a Peace
 “ as might be for his Honour and the Interest of
 “ his Subjects. And no Doubt it would be a great
 “ Trouble and Grief to his Majesty to find so great
 “ a Prince, towards whom He had manifested so
 “ great an Affection, in Conjunction with his Ene-
 “ mies: Yet even the Apprehension of such a War
 “ would not terrify him to purchase a Peace by such
 “ Concessions as He should be ashamed to make

“ them acquainted with ; of which Nature They
 “ would easily believe the Propositions hitherto made
 “ to be, when They knew the Release of *Poleroone* (287)
 “ in the *East-Indies*, and the demolishing the Fort of
 “ *Cabo Corso* upon the Coast of *Guinea*, were two ;
 “ which would be upon the Matter to be contented
 “ with a very vile Trade in the *East-Indies* under
 “ their Controul, and with none in *Guinea*. And yet
 “ those are not Propositions unreasonable enough to
 “ please the *Dutch*, who reproached *France* for in-
 “ terposing for Peace, instead of assisting them in the
 “ War, boldly insisting upon the Advantage the Con-
 “ tagion in *London* and some other Parts of the King-
 “ dom gives them ; by which, They confidently say,
 “ the King will be no longer able to maintain a Fleet
 “ against them at Sea.”

HE told them, “ that He had fully obeyed the
 “ Command that had been laid upon him, in mak-
 “ ing that plain, clear, true Narrative of what had
 “ passed ; He had no Order to make Reflection
 “ upon it, nor any Deduction from it : The King
 “ himself had told them, *that the noble, unparalleled*
 “ *Supply They had already given him is upon the Mat-*
 “ *ter spent*, spent with all the Animadversions of good
 “ Husbandry that the Nature of the Affair would
 “ bear. What was more to be done He left to their
 “ own generous Understandings, being not more
 “ assured of any Thing that was to come in this
 “ World, than that the same noble Indignation for
 “ the Honour of the King and the Nation, that first
 “ provoked them to inflame the King himself, would
 “ continue the same Passion still boiling in their
 “ loyal Breasts ; that all the World may see, which
 “ They never hoped to have seen, that never Prince
 “ and People were so entirely united in their Affec-
 “ tions, for their true, joint, inseparable Honour, as
 “ their only sure infallible Expedient to preserve their
 “ distinct several Interests.”

THE King could not expect or wish a fuller Con-^{A further} currence from a Parliament than He now found. ^{Supply granted.} With very little Hesitation They declared, "that
 " They would supply his Majesty with another Mil-
 " lion (ten hundred thousand Pounds):" And be-
 cause They desired to be dismissed as soon as might
 be to their several Habitations, not without Appre-
 hension that so great a Concourse of Persons from all
 Places, even from *London* itself (for the Term was
 likewise adjourned to *Oxford*), might bring the Con-
 tagion thither likewise; They rejected all other Bu-
 sinesses but what immediately related to the Publick.
 To the Supply They designed to the King They
 added the Sum of above forty thousand Pounds,
 which They desired his Majesty to confer upon the
 Duke, having received some Insinuation, "that it
 " would not be ingrateful to the King that such a
 " Present should be made to his Brother." Then ^{An Act for} They passed two or three Acts of Parliament very ^{attainting the}
 much for the King's Honour and Security, amongst ^{English in}
 which one was, "for the attainting all those his Sub- ^{the Dutch}
 " jects who either resided in *Holland*" (as some of ^{Service.}
 the *English* Officers who had long served in that
 Country presumed still to do) "and continued in
 " their Service, or in any other Parts beyond the
 " Seas, if They did not appear at a Day prefixed,
 " after Notice by the King's Proclamation:" And
 the Nomination of the Persons was entirely left to
 his Majesty.

HIS Majesty did hope, that this very good Car-
 riage in the Parliament would have made some Im-
 pression upon *France*, either to have given over their
 Mediation, or to have drawn reasonable and just Con-
 cessions from the *States*: But it did produce the con-
 trary. The *Hollander* had received a new Damage
 which inflamed them exceedingly, which shall be
 particularly mentioned in the next Place, whereupon
 They made grievous Complaints to *France* of its
 Breach of Faith upon the Promises that had been
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*The French
Ambassadors
remonstrated
warmly a-
gainst the
English.*

made to them. The King upon this required his Ambassadors once more to make a lively Instance to his Majesty, "that He would declare what He⁽²⁸⁾ meant to insist upon in Order to a Peace, which "if He should refuse to do, They should take their "Leaves and return into *France* with all possible Expedition." In this Audience They spake in a higher Style than They had formerly used. They complained "of the intolerable Damage the Subjects of *France* had sustained in their Goods and "Estates by the King's Ships, and those who were "licensed by his Authority, which without any Distinction seized upon all that came in their Way as "if They were *Dutch*: And when They complained "to the Admiralty or to the Lords Commissioners, "They could procure no Justice, and were obliged "to such an Attendance and Expence, that what "They sued for did not prove of Value to satisfy "the Charge of the Prosecution; and if after a long "and a tedious Solicitation They did at last procure "a Sentence for the Redelivery of what had been "taken from them, when They hoped to enjoy the "Benefit of this just Sentence by the Execution, "They found the Goods embezzled in the Port or "plundered by the Seamen, that the Owners had "rarely a third Part of their Goods ever restored to "them. And that by this Violence and unjust Proceeding, of which They had often made Complaint, the *French* Merchants had lost near five "hundred thousand *Pistoles*; which their Master resented and looked upon as a great Indignity to "himself, which He had hitherto borne, in Hope "that the License would have been restrained by the "End of the War."

THEY urged it as an Argument of their Master's Friendship to the King, "that after an offensive "Treaty had been so long since entered into by "him, by which He was obliged to assist the *Dutch* "with Men, Money and Ships, He had notwithstanding

"standing

“standing hitherto forborne it, and looked on whilst
 “They were soundly beaten and had lately sustained
 “another Blow; and that it was not possible for him to
 “defer it longer.” And so concluded with very earnest
 Persuasions, “that his Majesty would consent to such
 “a Peace as their Master should judge to be reason-
 “able, who could not but be very just to his Ma-
 “jesty;” and wished, “that it might be considered,
 “besides the Damage by the Plague which Nobody
 “knew how long it might continue, how impossible
 “it was for the King to sustain the Arms of *France*
 “in Conjunction to those of *Holland*, when possibly
 “some other Prince might join likewise with them.”

THEY who were appointed by the King to confer
 with the Ambassadors were most perplexed to justify
 their first Charge, “of the Depredation that had
 “been made upon the *French* Merchants,” which
 had in Truth been very great, though not amount-
 ing to the Sum They mentioned. Yet to that They
 answered, “that the Damage and Loss which the
 “Subjects of *France* had undergone that Way had
 “originally proceeded from themselves, and their
 “own Default in owning the Goods and Merchan-
 “dise of the *Dutch* to belong to themselves as their
 “proper Goods, and in undertaking to carry and
 “deliver the Wine and other Goods, which were
 “bought and paid for in *France* by the *Hollanders*,
 “in *French* Vessels in that Country; all which had
 “been fully and notoriously proved and could not
 “be contradicted: And when that Discovery was
 “once made, it was no Wonder if the Seamen some-
 “times seized upon some Vessels which were not
 “liable to the same Reproach. But when any Com-
 “plaints of that Kind had been made, the King had
 “always given strict Charge to the Judges to cause
 “Restitution to be made, and the Transgressors to
 “be severely punished; and his Majesty presumed
 “that the Judges had done their Duty. For the
 “*French* King’s being bound by his Treaty to assist

A Conference
between them
and the Eng-
lish Ministers
upon their Re-
monstrance.

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“the

“the *Hollanders*,” They said, “that if the King had⁽²⁸⁹⁾
 “any such Obligation upon him, it was subsequent
 “to his Obligation to his Majesty, by which He was
 “bound to make no such Treaty: Nor in Truth did
 “They believe that He had entered into any such
 “Treaty, for if it were only such as They themselves
 “stated it to be, a defensive League, it would nei-
 “ther engage nor excuse *France* in giving Assistance
 “to them who had done the Wrong and begun
 “the War; and therefore if the King was in Truth
 “bound to assist them, it must be from some offen-
 “sive not defensive Clause.”

THE Ambassadors replied, “that their Master
 “concluded that their King was the Aggressor, and
 “then the defensive Article did oblige him;” and
 They acknowledged there was no other. It was an-
 swered, “that the King had assumed a Power to
 “judge upon a Matter of Fact of which He had
 “taken no Examination; and that it was a Partiality
 “not agreeable to the Office of a Judge, to believe
 “what the *Dutch* said, and not to believe what the
 “King said, who had clearly published the true His-
 “tory of the Fact; and that it was notorious and
 “not possible to be denied, that They had refused
 “to deliver *Poleroone* according to their Treaty, and
 “that *De Ruyter* had begun the War in *Guinea* be-
 “fore one of their Ships had been seized on by the
 “King.” To which They replied, “that their Mas-
 “ter thought otherwise and did look upon the King
 “as Aggressor.” When They were urged with the
 Violation of the former Obligation by entering into
 the latter, all the Answer They gave was, “that
 “They knew Nothing of it, and that They had
 “Commission only to treat upon the present State of
 “Affairs, and not upon what had passed long be-
 “fore.” And so, according to the Character They
 underwent near fourteen hundred Years since, *Galli-
 ridentes fidem fregerunt.*

THE Counsellors of the King told them, “that
 “their Master had very well considered the Disad-
 “vantage He must undergo by the Access of so
 “powerful a Friend, and of whose Friendship He
 “had thought himself possessed, to the Part of his
 “Enemies, who were too insolent already; and
 “therefore to prevent that Disadvantage, He had
 “and would do any Thing that would consist with
 “the Dignity of a King: But that He must be
 “laughed at and despised by all the World, if He
 “should consent to make him the Arbitrator of the
 “Differences who had already declared himself to be
 “a Party, and *that He is resolved to make War against*
 “*him on the Behalf of his Enemy*; and that such Me-
 “naces would make no Impression in the last Article
 “of Danger that could befall the King.” The Am-
 bassadours took that Expression of Menaces very
 heavily, as if it were a Tax upon their Manners,
 and said “They had never used Words that could
 “imply a Menace.” To which it was replied, “that
 “there was no Purpose to make any Reflection upon
 “their Persons, who had always carried themselves
 “with great Respect to the King, and who his Ma-
 “jesty believed did in their own particular Affection
 “with him better than They did the *Dutch*: How-
 “ever the declaring, *that if the King did not do this*
 “*or that, the French King would make War upon him*,
 “could in no Language be looked upon to have
 “any other Signification than of a Menace and
 “Threat.” This raised a little Warmth on Both
 Sides, which made the Conference break off at that
 Time.

THE Ambassadors prepared to be gone; and the
 King discerned clearly that there was no Way to
 divert the *French* from an entire Conjunction with
 the *Dutch*: And thereupon He assembled his secret
 Council together again, to consult what should be
 the final Answer his Majesty should give to the *French*
 Ambassadors at parting. There was no Person pre-
 sent,

sent, who had not a deep Apprehension of the extreme Damage and Danger that must fall upon the King's Affairs, if in this Conjunction *France* should (290) declare a War against *England*.

The Prospect of the King's Affairs at this Time. It was well known, that the Duke of *Beaufort* was forthwith to be at *Brest*, where all the *French* King's Ships were to assemble at their Rendezvous by *Christmas*; that the *French* King had already sent to the Bishop of *Munster* to dissuade him from prosecuting his Enterprize against *Holland*, and that probably He might unite *Denmark* again to the *Dutch*, and probably even allay those warm Inclinations which the *Swede* had for the King. It was well known, that the *French* King had in the last Distractions in *Holland* contributed very much to the composing them, and to the Support of the Power and Credit of *De Wit*, who was the Soul of the War, and that He had sent him one hundred thousand *Pistoles*, without which They would have hardly been able to have set out their last Fleet under *De Ruyter*. And above all this, his giving Life to some domestick Rebellion in *England* and in *Ireland*, by sending Money to discontented Persons, was apprehended: For as there were enough discontented and desperate Persons in the latter, who wanted only Arms and Money to declare for any Prince who would take them into his Protection; so it was well known that there was a general Combination amongst those of the late Army to have risen, if the Duke of *York* had been defeated at *Séa*, and that it was that Victory that disappointed that intended Insurrection. That there had been a later Design, in the very Height of this dismal Sickness and Contagion, in *London* (whither the Fanatick Party had repaired from all the Quarters of the Kingdom, and had appointed a Day upon which the General should be assassinated, which some Soldiers of his own Regiment had undertaken, and then the whole Rendezvous was to be in several Streets at the same Time); which in so formidable a

Con-

Conjuncture might have succeeded to a great Degree, if by God's Blessing it had not been discovered two Days before to the General, who caused some of the chief Conspirators to be apprehended, who suffered afterwards by the Hand of Justice. And yet the Chief amongst them, Colonel *Danvers*, who in Spite of all the Vigilance that could be used had been always searched for and always concealed from the Time of the King's Return, being at this Time apprehended and brought before the General, and by him sent with a Lieutenant and a Guard of Soldiers to the *Tower*, was rescued in *Cheapside*, and so escaped, all the Citizens looking on without aiding the Officer.

THIS was the Prospect that the King had of his Condition and Affairs in this Consultation: And therefore if any Thing could have occurred that might probably have diverted this Storm, it would no Doubt have been embraced. But then the exceeding Breach of Faith in entering into that Treaty, the denying it afterwards, and concealing his Engagement by it so long after the War was entered into (which if He had not done the King could never have looked upon him as a fit Mediator), and the Impossibility of depending upon any Thing that should be promised for the future, were convincing Arguments against any such Reference of the Conditions to his Determination as was proposed, and was the only Expedient that was proposed towards the making a Peace. It was well known that the chief Counsels of *France*, since *Monsieur Colbert* entered upon the Ministry, had been directed towards the Advancement of Manufactures at Home, by which They might have less Need of Commerce with their Neighbours; and for the erecting a Trade abroad, with which They had been very little acquainted in former Times. And it was justly to be feared, that where the Judgment was left to them, They would imitate the infamous *Roman* Precedent,

of adjudging that to themselves that was in Difference between their Neighbours and left to their Decision: And so both *Poleroone* in the *East-Indies*, and *Cabo Corso* for the *West*, must be determined to belong to them; which might be the rather apprehended, by their having erected an *East-India* Company and a *West-India* Company, before They had any visible Foundation for a Trade in either, to which Both these Places might carry with them great Conveniences.

A final Answer given to the French Ambassadors.

THESE Considerations being seriously reflected upon, with a little generous Indignation to find himself thus treated, prevailed with the King to lay aside all Thoughts of farther complying with *France*, and to resolve to dismiss the Ambassadors without any other Answer, than what should contain Complaints “of the *French* King’s Want of Kindness, which his Majesty had cultivated by all the Offices He could perform since his Restoration, which did not receive an equal Return, by the preferring the Friendship of the *Dutch* before that of his Majesty.” And with this Answer the Ambassadors were dismissed, with liberal Presents and all gracious Demonstrations of Esteem of their Persons, and so returned for *France*, where They always gave just Testimony of the Civilities and fair Treatment They had received.

They leave the Kingdom.

A Prospect of dividing France and Holland.

BUT this Resolution increased the King’s Appetite to Peace, and made him think of all other Expedients that might contribute to it; and none seemed so hopeful, as that *France* and *Holland* might be divided: And He would have been very willing to have agreed with *Holland* upon any reasonable Conditions, that He might continue the War with *France*, which there were many reasonable Inducements to hope might be brought to pass. It was notorious, that Preparations had been made for two or three Years past by *France* at a very great Expence upon the Borders, that They might be ready to enter into *Flanders*

Flanders as soon as News should arrive of the King of *Spain's* Death; and that War would immediately fall out as soon as that King's Decease should be known, which from his Age and Infirmities must be expected every Day: And in that Case the Friendship could not continue long with *Holland*, which thought that *France* was already too near a Neighbour to them, to be willing that They should be nearer by a Conquest of *Flanders*, which with its own Force could not make an equal Resistance. It was likewise as notorious that all the other Provinces, *Holland* only excepted, did impatiently desire the Peace; and *Holland* had only been restrained from the same Impatience by the sole Credit and Authority of *De Wit*, and by his persuading them, "that *France* would assist them with Men, Money and Ships, and likewise declare a War against *England*, which" (as hath been said before) "would produce a Peace upon such Conditions as would make it happy to them:" And that though it was true that it had indeed assisted them with some Money, it was not considerable to their vast Expences, nor in Truth of Importance in Comparison of the other, which it was equally obliged to do, and had performed Nothing. And it was evident that *Holland* itself was jealous of those Proceedings, and even *De Wit* in his private Discourses to other Ministers seemed to be much unsatisfied with their Breach of Faith, and not to be without Apprehension that They would in the End enter into a stricter Alliance with *England*, and leave *Holland* as a Prey to Both.

THE *Spanish* Ambassadour, who always desired that the Peace might be established between the *English* and the *Dutch*, and that They would Both join with *Spain* in a defensive League, into which *Denmark* would be glad to enter, and *Sweden* might be drawn (292) in upon the same Conditions which They now received from *France*, towards which He had often desired the King to interpose, was now very glad that

the *French* Ambassadors had taken their Leaves and were gone; and He pretended to have many Assurances from the *Spanish* Ambassadors at the *Hague*, that the *Dutch* had those Inclinations which are mentioned before, “and that *De Wit* would be glad to “confer in private with any Man trusted by the “King, if He might be sure that it should not be “communicated to *France*.” Upon all these Probabilities, and the Certainty that no Good could be expected from *France*, his Majesty resolved to embrace all Opportunities to agree with *Holland*; towards which He had a secret Intelligence, to which He gave more Credit than to all the rest, which shall be mentioned hereafter.

THERE were so many great Transactions during the King's Residence in *Oxford*, besides what was done in the Parliament and what related to the Dismission of the *French* Ambassadors, so many Counsels which were executed, and so many secret Designs only initiated then and not executed till long after, that there cannot be too particular a Recollection of the Occurrences of all that Time. And if some Things are mentioned which seem too light and of too small Importance to have a Place in this Relation, they will be found at last to be the Rise and principal Ingredient to some Counsel and Resolution, which proved afterwards of Consequence enough as well to the Publick as to the Interest of particular Persons.

*An Attempt
to break the
Friendship
between the
Chancellor and
Treasurer.*

THE first Attempt that was made was to make a Breach between the Chancellor and Treasurer, who had been long fast Friends, and were believed to have most Credit with the King; and They who loved neither of them thought the most likely Way to hurt them was to make them love one another less. Several Attempts had been made upon the Chancellor to that Purpose without Effect: He knew the other too well to be shaken in the Esteem He had

had of his Friendship, and the Knowledge He had of his Virtue.

BET there was now an Accident fell out, that gave them an Opportunity to suggest to the Treasurer, “that the Chancellor had failed in his Friendship towards him.” The Occasion was upon the Vacancy ^{*The Occasion*} of an Office near the Queen by the Death of Mr. ^{*of it.*} Mountague, Master of the Horse to her Majesty, who had been killed before *Bergen*: And the News arriving with the Duke at *York*, before it was known at *Salisbury* to the King, the Duke and his Wife writ to the King and to the Queen “to confer that Place upon his younger Brother,” who was now become both the eldest and the only Son to his Father, the Lord Mountague of *Boughton*; and the Gentleman himself, on whose Behalf the Letters were writ, came himself by Post with them within two or three Hours after the News was brought to *Salisbury*, and He brought likewise a Letter from the Dutchess to the Chancellor, “to assist the Gentleman all He could in his Pretence,” He at the same Time enjoying the same Office under the Dutchess that his Brother had under the Queen.

THE Chancellor had never used to interpose in Matters of that Nature, nor had He any Acquaintance with this Gentleman who was now recommended: Yet He could not refuse to wait upon the Queen and shew her the Letter He had received, without any Intention to appear farther in it. But when He waited upon the Queen, who had received her Letter before, her Majesty seemed graciously disposed to gratify the Gentleman if the King approved it, but said “that She would make no Choice herself of any Servant without knowing first his Majesty’s Pleasure:” And She added, “that She had been informed, *that the Lord Mountague was very* 93) “*angry with his Son that was unfortunately slain, for having taken that Charge in her Family, and that He never allowed him any Thing towards his Support;*” and

“and if all other Obstructions were out of the Way,
 “She would not receive him except She were first assured that his Father would like and desire it.” Her Majesty vouchsafed to wish the Chancellor “to speak
 “with the King, and as dexterously as He could to
 “dispose him to recommend Mr. *Mountague* to her,
 “as just and reasonable since his Brother had lost his
 “Life in his Service.”

THIS Command of her Majesty obliged the Chancellor to wait upon the King, and to shew him the Letter He had received from the Dutchess; and at the same Time the King gave him that which He had from the Duke, in which his Highness desired him, “that
 “if that Place was not presently conferred upon Mr. *Mountague*, his Majesty would not dispose of it till
 “He waited upon him.” The Chancellor told him, “that the Queen gave no Answer, but referred it entirely to his Majesty:” And He said, “He would
 “never recommend any Person to her but such a one
 “as would be very grateful to her.” He said, “it
 “would seem very hard to deny one Brother to succeed another who was killed in his Service.” He confessed, “that the Lord *Crofts* had moved him on
 “the Behalf of Mr. *Robert Spencer*, of whom He had a
 “good Opinion: But that He had answered him, *that*
 “*He would not do any Thing in it till He saw his Brother*;
 “which Resolution He would keep.” To which the Chancellor made no Reply, having in his own private Inclinations and Affection much more Kindness for Mr. *Spencer*, of whose Pretence He had never received the least Intimation before, than for the other, with whom He had spoken very few Words in his Life. He told Mr. *Mountague* no more but that which the King himself had told him, “*that He would not dispose*
 “*of the Place till the Duke should arrive*,” only He added what the Queen had said of his Father, and advised him to think of the Way to remove that Obstruction. Whereupon He resolved to make a Journey to his Father, which He knew He might well do before the King and his Brother could meet.

THE same Night Mr. *Spencer* came to the Chancellor, and brought him a Letter from the Treasurer (whose Nephew He was, and who was unfortunately gone out of the Town the Day before to a House of his own twenty Miles distant) to recommend his Nephew to the Queen, to whom and to the King He had likewise Letters. The Chancellor gave him an Account of all that had passed, shewed him the Letter that He had received from the Dutcheſs, and told him what the Queen and the King had said, and “that it was not possible for him to do him Service, for which He was very sorry;” but advised him “to deliver Both his Letters, and to attend their Majesties, who He was confident had yet taken no Resolution:” With all which He was very well satisfied, and confessed “He could not expect that He should appear for him.” When He delivered his Letters to Both their Majesties, He received so gracious an Answer from Both, that He might reasonably expect his Suit to be granted, though the King told him, He would not dispose of the Place till He spake with his Brother.” And there is no Doubt but if the Lord Treasurer had been in the Town when the News first came to the King of Mr. *Mountague’s* Death, which was a whole Day before the Arrival of the Duke’s Letter, the King or Queen would not have denied him his Request.

WITHIN a short Time after Mr. *Spencer* had left him, the Lord *Crofts*, who had married his Sister, and was governed by the Lord *Arlington*, came to the Chancellor, and desired him “to take Care, out of
(294) “his Friendship with the Treasurer, that the King might not refuse to gratify him in this Suit for his Nephew, which was the first He had ever made, and if He should be denied it would exceedingly trouble him. That when He spake to the King of it as soon as the News came, and told him, *He was sure that the Treasurer would be a Suitor to him for his Nephew*, his Majesty did promise him that he should
“have

“ have it ; and that Both their Majesties had as good
 “ as said the same now to *Robert Spencer* : And there-
 “ fore if He would now use his Credit, the Thing
 “ might be dispatched presently and without farther
 “ Delay.”

THE Chancellor asked him, “ whether Mr. *Spencer*
 “ had informed him of all that had passed between
 “ them two ;” He said, “ Yes ; and that He had done
 “ all that the Dutcheſs had deſired him, in ſpeaking
 “ both to the King and Queen, and that his Friend-
 “ ſhip to the Lord Treafurer ſhould prevail with him
 “ to uſe all his Endeavours for his Nephew.” Where-
 upon the Chancellor ſhewed the Dutcheſs’s Letter, and
 repeated to him again all that He had formerly ſaid to
 Mr. *Spencer*, and asked him, “ what the Duke and his
 “ Wife muſt think of him, if inſtead of purſuing what
 “ They deſired, He ſhould ſolicit quite contrary to it.”
 He ſaid, “ that He might tell them that He was en-
 “ gaged by the Lord Treafurer before He received
 “ their Letter ;” and then talked paſſionately and in-
 diſcreetly “ of the Affront the Treafurer would think
 “ He received if this were denied him, and that all the
 “ World would ſay, that He might have compaſſed
 “ it if He had not failed in his Friendſhip.” To which
 He made no other Answer, than “ that the doing ſo
 “ baſe a Thing as He deſired would more probably
 “ deſtroy that Friendſhip with a Man ſo punctual in
 “ Honour and Juſtice as the Treafurer was, than any
 “ Thing that He had done or ſhould leave undone ;”
 and adviſed him “ not to make the Buſineſs worſe by
 “ his Activity, and that if He had the King’s and
 “ Queen’s Promiſe, as He pretended, He might very
 “ well acquieſce till the Duke came.”

HOWEVER his very great Indiscretion and Preſump-
 tion made the Thing much worſe, by delivering Meſ-
 ſages from the King to the Queen and from her Ma-
 jeſty to the King that They Both diſavowed, and by
 his uſual Diſcourſes, “ that it ſhould now appear who
 “ had the moſt Credit with the King, the Duke or the
 “ Treafurer,

“Treasurer, and how much the King would suffer if
 “He disobliged the Treasurer;” all which was quickly
 transmitted by the Intelligence that was every Day sent
 to *York*. On the other Hand He still advised the
 Treasurer “to continue his Importunity to the King
 “and Queen” (a Thing the most contrary to his Na-
 ture), and assured him, “that it would be grateful to
 “them and was expected by them.” Whereupon as
 soon as the Treasurer came to the Court, which was
 not till the King came to *Oxford*, He went to Both
 their Majesties, and renewed his Suit to them with
 more Warmth and Concernment than was customary
 to him, and received such an Answer from Both as
 very well satisfied him: And without Doubt the King
 intended to persuade his Brother to desist from pressing
 him farther on the Behalf of the other, for whom He
 had no Kindness.

BUT the Duke, who arrived by Post the very next
 Day, came in another Temper than was expected. The
 Intelligence from *Salisbury* of the Contest that was for
 that Place, and the insolent Behaviour and Expressions
 used by the Lord *Crofts*, had exceedingly moved him,
 and He looked upon the Treasurer as engaged to try
 who had the greatest Power, and as in Opposition to
 him: So that the same Night that He came to Town,
 when the King and He were in private, He complained
 of it with much Warmth; and He besought his Ma-
 jesty importunately “that He would declare, that the
 95) “World might know who had most Interest in his
 “Favour, He or the Treasurer.” The King was so
 much put out of the Method He intended to use in this
 Affair, knowing that the Expressions the Duke had
 mentioned had been too often used by the Lord *Crofts*,
 for which He had often reprehended him, that He
 presently applied that Remedy which He thought most
 proper, and after Conference with the Queen signed
 the Warrant for admitting Mr. *Mountague* into the
 Office, who was sworn the next Morning: So that the
 first News the Treasurer heard, after Both their Ma-
 jesties

jesties had the Day before said all to him that He could desire, was, that the Place was already full; which He received with more Commotion than was natural to him, and looked upon it as a designed, contrived Affront to expose him to Contempt. "Why would not the King, if He had changed his Mind after He left him, first send him Word of it, that He might have known his Purpose?"

ALL this Storm fell presently upon the Chancellor: The Lord *Crofts* assured him, "that it had been done at *Salisbury* if He had not hindered it; that He had been with the Duke before He spake with the King, and given him Advice what Tune He should speak in, which was used accordingly and had prevailed; and that when He came into the Duke's Chamber to kiss his Hand, his Highness turned away and would not speak to him, which must proceed from the Influence of the Chancellor." Whereas in Truth the Chancellor had only seen the Duke in publick, and said no more to him than what He said in publick, thinking it no good Manners to trouble him with any private Discourse, when He was so weary of his Journey; nor did He know that any Thing was done in that Affair till the Day after it was done, and after it was known to the Treasurer. Upon the whole Matter, how unwilling soever He was to believe that He could be so grossly faulty to him, when He saw the Chancellor next his Countenance was not the same it used to be; which the other taking Notice of asked him, according to his usual Familiarity, "what the Matter was," but He received such an Answer as made him discern that there was Somewhat amiss: And so He said no more. The other being the same Day with the King, the Duke came into the Room, and in his Looks manifested a Displeasure towards the Treasurer, which confirmed the former Jealousy of the Chancellor; which was improved by the Ladies, who did not like their Lodging, and thought it proceeded from Want of Friendship in him, who had the Power over
the

the University, and might have assigned what Lodgings He pleased to the Treasurer; and He had assigned this, as the best House in the Town for so great a Family, and which their own Servant had desired as the best in the Town, as it was.

WHEN the Chancellor discovered the Ground of this Alteration, He grew out of Humour too, and thought himself unworthily suspected: And so for two or three Days the two Friends came not together. And in that Time the Chancellor had enough to do to inform the Duke, who was not only very much offended with the Treasurer, but thought that He had been, out of his Friendship to the Treasurer, more remiss than He ought to have been in a Business so earnestly recommended by him and his Wife; and the Intelligence from *Salisbury* had made Reflections upon him as much as upon the other. But his Royal Highness willingly received Information of all that had passed, and discerned the foul Carriage of others as well as of the Lord *Crofts*; and was pleased to confess, “ that He “ had done all He ought to do, and that He had been “ misinformed of the Lord Treasurer’s Part in that “ Affair, which had made him think amiss of him, “ which He would acknowledge to him next Time He “ saw him.”

AFTER this the Chancellor, having a more clear View, upon Conference with the King and the Duke, of this pernicious Design, which in some Degree had compassed its End if there grew a Strangeness between the Treasurer and him, went to him: And They being together without any others, He told him, “ it should “ not be in his Power to break Friendship with him to “ gratify the Humour of other People, without letting “ him know what the Matter was, ” which He conjured him to impart to him; assuring him, “ that He would “ find that Nothing was more impossible than that He “ could commit a Fault towards him, and that They “ who wished well to neither of them had contrived “ this Separation as the best Way to hurt them Both.”

And when He saw that He did not yet open himself, He told him, “ that He had heard that He had received some Umbrage in the Pretence of his Nephew, and therefore He would give him an Account of all that He knew of it,” which He did exactly; and concluded with a Protestation, “ that He had not known what had been done at *Oxford* till after He came from him, when He observed the Change of his Countenance towards him, of the Cause of which He could not then make any Conjecture.”

THE Treasurer thereupon with his usual Freedom told him, “ that if his Part had been no other than as He related, He thought himself obliged to give him a Narration of all He had done, and of the Grounds and Motives He had to think that He had failed in his Friendship.” And thereupon He mentioned the Kindness and Esteem He had for his Nephew, whom He thought in all Respects of Birth and Breeding at least as worthy of that Relation as the Gentleman who was possessed of it; and yet that since He was not upon the Place, He had no Mind to engage himself in the Suit: And that when his Nephew had given him an Account what the Chancellor had said to him,” which He did with great Ingenuity, “ and He knew that the Duke of *York* appeared in it for another, He resolved to prosecute it no farther; until the Lord *Crofts* with all Confidence assured him, *that the King had promised him to confer the Place upon Robert Spencer, and that Both their Majesties expected that He should make it his Suit, to the End that They might thereby decline the Importunity that He expected from his Brother.*” He told him of some Expressions He had used to the King in that Affair, which the King himself had reported; and “ that when He took his Leave of the Queen to go to *Oxford*” (which was the next Day after Mr. *Mountague* came from *York*), “ He dissuaded her Majesty from receiving Mr. *Spencer*, alledging some Reasons against it, which a Lady who was near overheard,

“ and

“and informed the Person of it who acquainted him
 “with it: All which, with the King’s and Queen’s
 “so ample Promises to him so few Hours before the
 “conferring the Place upon another, and the Duke of
 “York’s Manner of receiving him after He had been
 “shut up with him, as He was informed, might very
 “well excuse him for thinking He had some Share in
 “the Affront He had undergone.”

To which the other replied, “that if indeed He did
 “believe all that He had been told, He could not but
 “think so; but,” He said, “He thought He had
 “known him better than to give Credit to such Re-
 “ports, which must make him a Fool and a Knave:
 “That for the Words He should have used to the
 “King or the Queen, there had Nothing passed like
 “it to either of them, but that they were purely de-
 “vised out of Malice; which should be manifest unto
 “him, for He would not speak a Word of it to the
 “King till They were Both with him together, and
 “then He would ask before him what his Carriage had
 “been, and by his Majesty’s sudden Answer He might
 “judge of the Report.” He told him then, “how
 “much He had suffered with the Duke, and what ex-
 “cellent Stories had been made to his Royal Highness
 “of Both of them, and of the good Part the Lord
 “Crofts had acted, of which He was not without some
 “Evidence.” After this *Eclaircissement*, of the Sin-
 “cerity whereof every Day administered new Testimony,
 “They Both returned to their mutual Confidence in
 “each other: And They who had contrived this former
 “Device entered into a new Confederacy, how They
 “might first remove the Treasurer, which would facili-
 “tate the pulling the Chancellor down; of which anon.

WITHIN a short Time after the Duke returned out The Duke
 consults the
 Chancellor
 about making
 two Suits to
 the King.
 of Yorkshire, his Highness told the Chancellor in Con-
 “fidence, “that he had two Suits which He intended to
 “make to the King, and with which He first ac-
 “quainted him that He might have his Assistance in
 “the obtaining them. The first was, in which He
 C 2 “and

“and his Wife were equally engaged, to prevail with
 “the King to make Sir *George Savile* a Viscount.”
 He said, “He knew well the Resolution the King had
 “taken, to which He had contributed his Advice, to
 “make no more Lords: But that He hoped in this
 “particular Case his Majesty would upon his Desire
 “dispense with a general Rule. That Sir *George* had
 “one of the best Fortunes of any Man in *England*, and
 “lived the most like a great Man; that He had been
 “very civil to him and his Wife in the *North*, and
 “treated them at his House in a very splendid Man-
 “ner; and that He was engaged to prevail with the
 “King in this Point, or to confess He had no Power,
 “which He Hoped He should not be without in this
 “Matter;” and asked his Opinion.

THE Chancellor in his usual Freedom, which He
 always took when He was to deliver his Advice to the
 King or Duke, said “that He could not advise his
 “Highness to move the King in it; for besides that He
 “knew the King’s positive Determination, the Departure
 “from which might be of ill Consequence, Sir *George*
 “*Savile* was a Man of a very ill Reputation amongst
 “Men of Piety and Religion, and was looked upon
 “as void of all Sense of Religion, even to the doubt-
 “ing if not denying that there is a God, and that He
 “was not reserved in any Company to publish his
 “Opinions: Which made him believe that it would
 “neither be for his Highness’s Honour to propose it,
 “nor for the King’s to grant it, in a Time when all
 “Licence in Discourse and in Actions was spread over
 “the Kingdom, to the Heart-breaking of very many
 “good Men, who had terrible Apprehensions of the
 “Consequence of it.” The Duke was not at all
 pleased with his Discourse, and said, “He was re-
 “solved to use all his Credit with the King to compass
 “it, and that He hoped that whatever He thought
 “He would not oppose it.”

THE other Particular was, that He would move the
 “King to make Mr. *Coventry* his Secretary a Privy
 “Counsellor,”

“ Counsellor,” and asked him “ what He thought of
 “ that.” To which He answered, “ that his Opinion
 “ in that Point would please him no better than in the
 “ former. That He did not think it fit to be asked :
 “ And if the King his Brother were inclined to be jea-
 “ lous of him, as some had endeavoured to persuade
 “ him, such an Instance as this would very much con-
 “ firm it; for never any Prince of *Wales* had a Servant
 “ of the highest Degree about him called to the Coun-
 “ cil, till his Father called the Earl of *Newcastle*, who
 “ was the Prince’s Governour, to the Board, which was
 “ not till upon the Approach of the Troubles He dis-
 “ cerned that He should employ him in another
 98) “ Charge. That the Members of that Board had been
 “ always those great Officers of State, and other Offi-
 “ cers, who in Respect of the Places They held had a
 “ Title to sit there, and of such few others who, hav-
 “ ing great Titles and Fortunes and Interest in the
 “ Kingdom, were an Ornament to the Table. That
 “ there were at present too many already, and the
 “ Number lessened the Dignity of the Relation: That
 “ his Highness had already brought the Lord *Berkley*
 “ thither, who had no Manner of Title to be there but
 “ his Dependance upon him; and now to bring in his
 “ Secretary, for no other Reason but for being his Se-
 “ cretary, might be thought an Encroachment, and
 “ be misinterpreted by the King.” He added, “ that
 “ his wrangling, litigious Nature would give the Board
 “ much Trouble; and that He knew him to be so
 “ much his particular Enemy, that He would watch
 “ all the Opportunities to do him all possible ill Offices
 “ to the King and to his Royal Highness.”

THE Duke replied only to the last, and said, “ He
 “ perceived Somebody had done *Will. Coventry* ill
 “ Offices, which He knew to be unjust and false: And
 “ that He could assure him upon his own Knowledge,
 “ that He had a great Respect for him, and desired his
 “ Favour; and that He would pass his Word for him,
 “ that He would never do any Thing to disserve him,

“ which if He should do He should for ever lose his Favour, which He knew well.” And no Doubt the Duke did believe all He said, for He had a perfect Kindness for the Chancellor; and when He did not comply with what He wished, He knew that it was out of the Integrity of his Judgment, and his strict Duty to the King and himself, and that He had never flattered or dissembled with either of them. And Mr. *Coventry* had Skill enough to persuade him to believe what He desired should be true, though there were in the View of all Men frequent Instances of the contrary, and of the Absence of all Ingenuity and Sincerity in his Actions.

*The Duke
moves the King
to make Sir
George Savile
a Viscount.*

WITHIN very few Days after this Conference, and when the Dutches had made new Instance with her Father in the Case of Sir *George Savile*, and with more Importunity than the Duke, and appeared more concerned and troubled that He should not be more forward to comply with the Duke's Desires (but the Chancellor, who always with the Respect that was due to her Quality preserved the Dignity of a Father very entire, would give no other Answer than He had done to the Duke, and advised her to dissuade him from making the Request to the King); his Highness one Day desired the King that He would retire into his Closet, and call the Chancellor to him: And when They three were together in the Room, after a short Discourse of Letters which He had received from the Earl of *Sandwich*, which there will be Occasion anon to mention at large, the Duke told the King, “ He had an humble Suit to his Majesty;” and then spake much of the great Interest that Sir *George Savile* had in the Northern Parts, of the Greatness of his Estate, and his orderly and splendid Way of Living, and concluded with his Desire “ that his Majesty would make him an *English* Viscount.” Upon which the King presently put him in Mind “ of the Resolution He had formerly made in that Room, and He thought upon his own Motion, but He was sure it had been with his Concurrence and Approbation”. THE

THE Duke replied, " that He remembered it very well, and thought He should do well still in the general to observe it: Yet it was in those Cases always supposed, that an extraordinary Case might fall out, that might produce an Exception; and He did most humbly beseech his Majesty, that He would upon his very earnest Interposition, from which Nobody could make a Precedent, dispense with the Rule." He did confess, " that He was so confident of his Majesty's Favour, that He had
(299) " given Sir *George Savile* Cause to believe that He would prevail in that Suit; which if He should not do, He must be thought either not to have intended what He promised, or to have no Credit with his Majesty, neither of which would be for his Honour."

THE King replied roundly, and with more Presence of Mind than He had always about him, " that it was absolutely necessary to be very precise in the Observation of the Rule, which if He should once break, a World of Inconveniencies would break in upon him, which He could not defend himself against." He named two or three Persons who were very solicitous for Honours, and had several Pretences to it, and his Majesty had only been able to resist and evade their Importunity, by objecting this declared Resolution to them. The plain Truth is; He had made some Promise (a Weakness He was too often liable to) to those Persons or to their Friends, " that when He should make any new Creations They should be sure to be in the Number." Nor did He apprehend any Inconvenience from redeeming himself from the present Importunity, which was still grievous to him, since He had resolved to make no new Creation. And this was the true Reason that made him now so inexorable to his Brother, who was very much troubled, and declined to move any Thing else in so unlucky a Season, not without some Apprehension, from the King's quicker Way of Discourse, that He had been prepared for it by the Chancellor, who though present

Which the King will not consent to.

had not spoke one Word in the Debate, nor indeed ever informed the King of the Conference his Highness had formerly held with him upon that Subject, nor ever spoken to him concerning it.

HOWEVER in this Perplexity as the Duke thought it necessary to inform Mr. *Coventry*, who had principally advanced this Pretence, all that had passed before the King, that his Nephew (for so Sir *George Savile* was) might see He could make no farther Progress in it; so in the Passion He unwarily told him all that had passed in the former Conference with the Chancellor, which He took Care should not be concealed from any who were like to be willing to revenge it. And the Duke, to shew how willing He was to oblige the Family, immediately received a younger Brother of Sir *George Savile*, whom He had only seen in the *North*, to wait upon him in his Bedchamber; who being a young Man of Wit, and incredible Confidence and Presumption, omitted no Occasion to vent his Malice against the Chancellor, with a Licence that in former Times would have been very penal, though it had concerned a Person of a much inferiour Quality in the State.

Mr. William
Coventry ad-
mitted of the
Privy Council
and the pri-
vate Commit-
tee.

WITHIN a short Time after, the King told the Chancellor, "that his Brother had desired him that his Secretary Mr. *Coventry* might be admitted of the Privy Council, which He could not deny, but had promised it should be done at the next Meeting;" which was accordingly done, and He knighted: And quickly after, upon the like Desire of the Duke, He was called to that Committee with which his Majesty used to consult his most secret Affairs. And from this Time there was an Alteration in the whole Carriage and Debate of all Manner of Business: And as the Chancellor had found his own Credit with the King much diminished from the Time of the Lord *Arlington's* being Secretary; so a greater Decrease of it was now visible to all Men from the Access of this new Counsellor.

THE Lord *Arlington* had not the Gift of speaking nor of a quick Conception, and so rarely contradicted any Thing in Council: His Talent was in private, where He frequently procured, very inconveniently, Changes and Alterations from publick Determinations. 300) But Sir *William Coventry* (between whom and the other there was an entire Conjunction and Combination) was a Man of quick Parts and a ready Speaker, unrestrained by any Modesty or Submission to the Age, Experience or Dignity of other Men, equally censorious of what had been done before He was a Counsellor, as solicitous in Contradiction of whatsoever was proposed afterwards: Insomuch as the very first Time that He was admitted to the private Committee, the Debate being about providing Money to be paid at a Day approaching to the Bishop of *Munster* according to the King's Obligation, He said, "We had Need enough of Money for our own immediate Occasions; and that We ought not to assign any to the Advancement of the Affairs of other Men." Whereupon He was informed "of the Treaty the King had entered into, and that the Bishop was at that Time upon his March, which was by every Body looked upon as of great Importance to his Majesty:" To which He answered, "that he had heard Somewhat of it how secretly soever it had been carried, and that He had never liked it from the Beginning, nor would give his Consent that any more Money should be paid towards it;" which the King himself looked upon as a rare Impudence.

HIS great Ambition was to be taken Notice of for opposing and contradicting whatsoever was proposed or said by the Chancellor or Treasurer, towards whom all other Counsellors, how little soever They cared for their Persons, had ever paid Respect in Regard of their Offices. He was a declared Enemy to all Lawyers, and to the Law itself; and any Thing passed under the great Seal of *England* was of no more Authority with him, than if it were the Scroll of a Scrivener.

Where He constantly opposes the Chancellor and Treasurer.

Scrivener. He had no Principles in Religion or State, of one Mind this Day and another To-morrow, and always very uneasy to those who were obliged to consult with him; whose Pride and Insolence will administer frequent Occasions of Mention throughout the ensuing Relation.

*Success of the
Fleet after the
Attempt at
Bergen.*

THE King had not been many Days in *Oxford*, when News arrived that the Earl of *Sandwich* had been engaged in some Conflict with the *Dutch Fleet*; of the Particulars whereof there was a general Longing to be advertised. The Truth was, that whilst the Earl rode, after the Business of *Bergen*, as near that Coast as was safe, in Expectation of the *Dutch Fleet*, the Winds, which are always tempestuous in that Season of the Year, *September*, made it absolutely necessary for him to remove with his whole Fleet to the Coast of *Scotland*, where there were Harbours enough for him to ride safe; and in this Interval of Time *De Ruyter* was passed by towards that of *Norway*. The News of their *Indian Fleet* having been attacked by the *English* in *Bergen*, and the Letters of some of their Officers, which implied as if They were not satisfied in the Security of the Port and of the Fidelity of the Governour, produced a wonderful Consternation in *Holland*; and if They should be deprived of that Wealth, the very Company of the *East-Indies* would be in Danger of being dissolved.

THE Fleet was ready to set Sail under the Command of *De Ruyter* well fitted and manned: But there were still many Factions amongst the Captains and other Officers, that might upon any Accidents produce many Mischiefs; for the better Prevention whereof, the Pensionary *De Wit* was willing to venture his own Person, believing himself to be as secure any where as on Shore, if any Misfortune should befall the Fleet. And so He was by a special Commission made Plenipotentiary, with an ample Allowance for his Table, and a Guard of Halberdiers for the Safety of his Person, with a good Train of Volunteers: And so He put

put himself on Board the Ship of *De Ruyter*, who received Orders from him.

THE Earl of *Sandwich*, after He had received Ad-^{Lord Sand-}vertisements of the *Dutch Fleet's* being passed by for ^{wich not able} *Norway*, took all the Care He could to put himself ^{to come to an} and his Fleet in the Way of their Return. They ^{Engagement} made a short Stay on the Coast of *Norway*, where ^{with De} upon good Consideration their Ships were dismissed, and loud Clamour raised against the Hostility of the *English*. And notwithstanding all the Vigilance the Earl could use, the Darkneſs and Length of the Nights ſo favoured them, that He could not engage their whole Fleet as He endeavoured to do: Yet He ^{But takes} had the good Fortune in two Encounters to take ^{many of his} eight of their great Ships of War, two of their beſt ^{Ships in their} *East-India* Ships, and about twenty of their other Merchant-Ships, which were all under the Protection of their Fleet, or ought to have been. After which He was by Tempeſt driven to put the Fleet into Security in the *English* Harbours, it being already the Month of *October*.

It was a fair Booty, and came very opportunely to ſupply the preſent Neceſſities of the Navy, and to provide for the ſetting out of the next Fleet at Spring, and was in Truth gotten with very good Conduct, and without any conſiderable Damage: But it being much leſs than was expected (for whatſoever was upon the Sea was looked upon as our own), the News no ſooner arrived at *Oxford*, but Intelligence came with it of many Overſights which had been committed and Opportunities loſt, otherwiſe it had been eaſy to have taken the whole Fleet; and that it might have been purſued farther when it was in View, after thoſe *East-India* Ships were taken, which were indeed ſurpriſed and boarded at the Break of Day, when They thought themſelves in the Middle of their own Fleet. And it is as true that the Earl did then purſue to engage the Fleet, till They were got ſo near the *French* Shore, that the Wind blowing in to the

the Land, it was by all the Flag-Officers thought absolutely necessary to give over the Chace.

Sir W. Coventry's unjust Reflections upon him.

SIR *William Coventry*, who had never paid a Civility to any worthy Man but as it was a Disobligation to another whom He cared less for, and so had only contributed to the Preferment of the Earl of *Sandwich* in the last Expedition that He might cross Prince *Rupert*, received much Intelligence from several Officers in the Fleet, which He scattered abroad to the Prejudice of the Earl, and was willing that it should be believed that He had been too wary in avoiding Danger. But the King and the Duke were very just to the Earl, and discountenanced all those Reports as Scandals and Calumnies: And the Duke, who had seen his Behaviour in the most dangerous Action, gave him a loud Testimony “of a prudent “and brave Commander, and as forward and bold “in the Face of Danger as the Occasion required “or Discretion permitted.” And his Highness undertook “that He had in all this Expedition done “what a Man of Honour was obliged to do,” and was abundantly satisfied (as his Majesty likewise was) with the rich Prizes He had brought home, which had caused equal Lamentation in *Holland*, and almost broke the Heart of *De Wit* himself. But what Success soever the Earl had at Sea, it was his Misfortune to do an unadvised Action when He came into the Harbour, that lessened the King's own Esteem of him, and to a great Degree irreconciled the Duke to him, and gave Opportunity to his Enemies to do him much Prejudice.

An imprudent Action of the Earl of Sandwich after his Return.

IT was a constant and a known Rule in the Admiralty, that of any Ship that is taken from the Enemy Bulk is not to be broken, till it be brought into the Port and adjudged lawful Prize. It seems that when the Fleet returned to the Harbour, the Flag-Officers petitioned or moved the Earl of *Sandwich*, “in Regard of their having continued all the “Summer upon the Seas with great Fatigue, and “been

“ been engaged in many Actions of Danger, that
 “ He would distribute amongst them some Reward
 “ out of the *Indian Ships* ;” which He thought reasonable, and inclined to satisfy them, and writ a Letter to the Vice-Chamberlain to inform the King of it, and “ that He thought it fit to be done ;” to which the Vice-Chamberlain, having shewed the Letter to the King, returned his Majesty’s Approbation. But before the Answer came to his Hand He had executed the Design, and distributed as much of the coarser Goods to the Flag-Officers, as by Estimation was valued to be one thousand Pounds to each Officer, and took to the Value of two thousand Pounds for himself. This suddenly made such a Noise and Outcry, as if all the *Indian* and other Merchant-Ships had been plundered by the Seamen : And They again cried out as much, that no Care was taken of them, but all given to the Flag-Officers ; which the other Captains thought to be an Injury to them.

THE General (who had Nothing like Kindness for the Earl of *Sandwich*, whose Service He thought had been too much considered and recompensed by the King at his Arrival) had Notice of it before it came to *Oxford* ; and according to his universal Care (which was afterwards found to proceed from private Animosity) sent Orders to all the Port Towns to seize upon Goods which were brought in Shallops from the Fleet ; and gave Advertisement to *Oxford* of the extraordinary ill Consequence of that Action, and “ that it would spoil the Sale of all that remained of “ those Ships, since the *East-India* Company, which “ probably would have been the best Chapmen, “ would not now be forward to buy, since so much “ was disposed of already to other Hands as would “ spoil their Market.” And by this Time the Earl himself had given an Account of all that had been done, and the Motives, to the Duke. The King was justly displeased for the Expedition He had used, “ why had his Approbation been desired, when He

Which the General represents in the worst Light.

The King of- fended with the Earl.

“ resolved

“resolved to do the Thing before He could receive
 “an Answer?” yet was glad that He had done so, ⁽³⁰³⁾
 because He would have been more excusable if He
 had received it.

*The Duke in-
 censed against
 him.*

BUT the Duke, who had been constantly kind to
 the Earl, was offended in the highest Degree, and
 thought himself injured and affronted beyond any
 Precedent. “This most unjustifiable Action could
 “proceed only from two Fountains: The one of ex-
 “treme Vanity and Ambition, to make himself po-
 “pular amongst the Officers of the Fleet, who ought
 “not to have been gratified by him at the King’s
 “Charge. When any such Bounty should be fea-
 “sonable, it was the Duke’s Province to have been
 “the Author, and the Conduit to have conveyed it:
 “He had himself been an Eyewitness of their Be-
 “haviour in the greatest Action; and for the Earl
 “to assume the rewarding them by his own Autho-
 “rity was to defraud and rob him of his proper
 “Right and Jurisdiction.” And He looked upon
 his having desired the King’s Allowance by the Vice-
 Chamberlain, as a Trick and an Aggravation; for
 He ought to have asked his Advice as his superiour
 Officer: And the poor Vice-Chamberlain underwent
 his Share in the Reproach, for having presumed to
 move the King in a Particular that, if it was to be
 moved at all, had been to be moved by the Duke.
 “The other Fountain which might produce this
 “Presumption might be Avarice,” which was the
 sole Blemish (though it never appeared in any gross
 Instance) that seemed to cloud many noble Virtues
 in that Earl, who now became a very pregnant Evi-
 dence of the irresistible Strength and Power of Envy;
 which though it feeds on its own Poison, and is na-
 turally more grievous to the Person who harbours
 it than to him that is maligned, yet when it finds a
 Subject it can effectually work upon, it is more in-
 fatiable in Revenge than any Passion the Soul is lia-
 ble unto.

HE

HE was a Gentleman of so excellent a Temper and Behaviour that He could make himself no Enemies; ^{*Character of the Earl of Sandwich.*} of so many good Qualities, and so easy to live with, that He marvellously reconciled the Minds of all Men to him, who had not Intimacy enough with him to admire his other Parts: Yet was in the general Inclinations of Men upon some Disadvantage. They who had constantly followed the King whilst He as constantly adhered to *Cromwell*, and knew not how early He had entertained Repentance, and with what Hazards and Dangers He had manifested it, did believe the King had been too prodigal in heaping so many Honours upon him. And They who had been familiar with him and of the same Party, and thought They had been as active as He in contributing to the Revolution, considered him with some Anger, as one who had better Luck than They without more Merit, and who had made early Conditions: When in Truth no Man in the Kingdom had been less guilty of that Address; nor did He ever contribute to any Advancement to which He arrived, by the least Intimation or Insinuation that He wished it, or that it would be acceptable to him. Yet upon this Blast the Winds rose from all Quarters, ^{*He is very*} Reproaches of all Sorts were cast upon him, and all ^{*injuriously treated.*} Affronts contrived for him.

THE Earl had conveyed that Part of the Goods which He had assigned to himself in a Shallop to *Lynn*, from whence it could pass by Water to his own House. An Officer in that Port seized upon it by Virtue of the General's Warrant, and would cause it presently to be unladen, which He began to do. But the Servants of the Earl appealed to the other Officers in equal Authority, to whom They brought a Letter with them from the Earl of *Sandwich*, in which He owned all those Goods to be his (amongst which were his Bedding and Furniture for his Cabin, and all his Plate and other Things suitable), and likewise a Note of all the other Goods which might
be

be liable to pay Custom; and desired them "to
 " send one of their Searchers with the Boat to his
 " House, where He should receive all their Dues,
 " without being unladen in the Port;" which, be-
 sides the Delay, would be liable to many Inconveni-
 ences. The Officer who had first arrested it, and
 who had Dependence upon a great Man of the Coun-
 try, who was not unwilling that any Affront should
 be put upon the Earl, roughly refused to suffer it to
 pass without being first unladen; but being over-
 ruled by the other Officers, vented his Anger in very
 unmannerly Language against the Earl: Of all which
 He, being advertised by his Servants, sent a Com-
 plaint to the Lords of the Council, and desired "the
 " Fellow might be sent for and punished;" which
 could not be refused, though it proved troublesome
 in the Inquiry. For the Officer, who was a Gentle-
 man of a fair Behaviour and good Repute, denied
 all those Words which carried in them the worst In-
 terpretation; but justified the Action, and produced
 the General's Warrant, which had unusual Expres-
 sions, and apparent enough to have a particular and
 not a general Intention.

THE General had quick Advertisement of it, and
 writ very passionately from *London*, "that an Officer
 " should be sent for without having committed any
 " other Offence than in obeying and executing a
 " Warrant of his:" And the other great Man, who
 was of great Importance to the King's Service and in
 the highest Trust in that Country, writ several Let-
 ters "how impossible it would be to carry on the
 " King's Service in that Country, if that Officer
 " should be punished for doing that, when He ought
 " to be punished if He had not done it;" and there-⁽³⁰⁴⁾
 fore desired, "that He might be repaired by them
 " who had caused him to be sent for."

SIR *William Coventry* had now full Sea-Room to
 give Vent to all his Passions, and to incense the Duke,
 who was enough offended without such Contribu-
 tions :

tions : “ If this proceeded from Covetousness, it was
 “ not probable that it would be satisfied with so lit-
 “ tle ; and therefore it was probable, that though
 “ the Officers might not have received above the
 “ the Value of one thousand Pounds,” which was
 assigned to each, “ yet himself would not be con-
 “ tented with so little as two thousand ; and They
 “ might therefore well conceive that He had taken
 “ much more, which ought to be examined with the
 “ greatest Strictness.” There had been Nothing said
 before of not taking Advantage enough upon the
 Enemy in all Occasions which had been offered, and
 of not pursuing them far enough, which was not
 now renewed, with Advice “ that He might be pre-
 “ sently sent for ;” though it was known that, as
 soon as He could put the Ships into the Ports to
 which they were designed, He would come to *Oxford*.
 And there were great underhand Endeavours, that
 the House of Commons might be inflamed with this
 Mis carriage and Misdemeanor, and present it as a
 Complaint to the House of Peers, as fit to be exa-
 mined and brought to Judgment before that Tribu-
 nal. And They, who with all the Malice imaginable
 did endeavour in vain to kindle this Fire, persuaded
 the King and the Duke, “ that by their sole Activity
 “ and Interest it was prevented for that Time, be-
 “ cause the Session was too short, and that all neces-
 “ sary Evidence could not be soon produced at *Ox-*
 “ *ford* ; but that, as soon as the Plague should cease
 “ to such a Degree in *London* that the Parliament
 “ might assemble there, it would be impossible to re-
 “ strain the House of Commons from pursuing that
 “ Complaint,” of which Nobody thought but them-
 selves and They who were provoked by them.

THE Earl of *Sandwich* had so good Intelligence
 from *Oxford*, that He knew all that was said of him,
 and began to believe that He had done unadvisedly
 in administering Occasion of speaking ill to those who
 greedily sought for it : And as soon as his Absence

*He fully clears
himself of the
Charge of
Misconduct
at Sea.*

from the Fleet could be dispensed with, He made Haste to Oxford, and gave so full an Account of every Day's Action, from the Time that He went to Sea to the Day of his Return, and of his having never done any Thing of Importance, nor having left any Thing undone, but with and by the Advice of the Council of War, upon the Orders He had received, that both the King and the Duke could not but absolve him from all the Imputations of Negligence or Inadvertency.

*And makes an
ingenuous Ac-
knowledgment
of his Impru-
dence.*

BUT for the breaking Bulk and the Circumstances that attended it, They declared They were unsatisfied. And He confessed "that He had been much "to blame," and asked Pardon, and with such Excuses as He thought might in some Degree plead for him. He protested, "it seemed to him to have had "some Necessity: That the whole Fleet was in a "general Indisposition, and complained that for all "that Summer Action" (which indeed had been full of Merit) "They had Nothing given to them, not "without some muttering that They would have "Somewhat out of those *India* Ships before They "would part with them; infomuch as He had a real "Apprehension that They had a Purpose to plunder "them. And He should have feared more, if He "had not complied with the Flag-Officers Importunity: And thereupon He consented that They "should have each of them the Value of one thousand Pounds, and which He was most confident "the Goods which had been delivered to them did "not exceed." He confessed "He had not enough "considered the Consequence, and that They who (309) "had not received any Donative would be more displeased, than They who had it were satisfied with "it; which He acknowledged was the Case: That "He was heartily sorry for permitting any such Thing "to be done, and more for having taken any himself, "and humbly asked Pardon for Both; and desired "that his own Part, which remained entire, might

"be

“ be restored to the Ship from whence it had been
 “ taken, which He would cause to be done.”

A MORE ingenuous Acknowledgment could not be made: And They who could not but observe many Persons every Day excused for more enormous Transgressions, did hope that He, who had so few Faults to answer for, would have been absolved for that Trespass. And the King himself used him very graciously, and so did the Duke; and He was sent back to the Fleet, to give Order for the sending out a Winter-Guard and ordering all other maritime Affairs, and for the sending up the *India* Ships into the River, with great Care that none of the Seamen should go on Shore, where the Plague still raged little if at all less than it had done in the Summer: And so He himself and most other Men believed and were glad, that an ill Business was so well composed. But Sir *William* did not intend that it should end there.

THE present Business, that must admit no Interruption, was the raising what Money might be to supply the present Necessities of the Fleet, to pay the Seamen, and to make all Preparations to set out the Fleet against the Spring, when the *French* Ships would be infallibly ready to join with the *Dutch*; and the Money that was given by the Parliament would not be paid till long after; and the Affairs of the Bankers were in such Disorder by the Death of Servants, and the Plague having been in some of their Houses, that the usual Course of advancing Moneys by Assignations could not be depended upon. The General had written to the Lord Treasurer, “ that He thought that there could not be so good “ Chapmen for those Ships as the *East-India* Com- “ pany, some whereof had been with him to know “ the King’s Pleasure; and if Authority were granted “ to any Man to treat upon that Affair, They would “ send for Members enough of their Company, who “ were dispersed in the Country, to be present at

*With which
the King is
satisfied.*

*The East-India
Prizes
sold for the
Service of the
War.*

“a Court, which would authorise a Committee to treat and contract with them:” And He said, “that He was confident that Half the Money would be paid upon the making the Bargain.” The King was no sooner advertised of this Overture, than He sent Sir *George Carteret* and Mr. *Ashburnham* to London to confer with the General and to be advised by him, and granted Authority to them three to sell those two Prizes to those who would give most. And They found no Overtures to be so advantageous as those which were made by that Company: And yet They made so much Use of the Advantage of the Time, when all Men of notorious Wealth were out of the Town, that They thought not fit to make any Agreement till They gave the King an Account of the whole Transaction, with their Opinions upon Conference with other Men of Business; and to that Purpose the two Persons who had been sent to the General returned safe to Oxford.

The King persuaded to remove Lord Sandwich from the Command of the Fleet.

IT hath been mentioned before, that it was thought a great Presumption in any Body to presume to interpose in the maritime Affairs, which was interpreted to be an Invasion of the Duke's peculiar Province; and by this Means the Credit of Sir *William Coventry* was so absolute, that the Disposal of all was in his Power. He had persuaded the Duke, and the Lord *Arlington* who was in firm Conjunction with him had prevailed with the King to believe, “that the House of Commons was so incensed against the Lord *Sandwich* for his late Presumption, that it would not be possible to hinder them in their next assembling” (which was appointed or resolved to be in April, if it pleased God to extinguish the Sickness) “from falling very severely upon the Earl of *Sandwich*, which would be a very great Dishonour to the King if He were at that Time in the Command of the Fleet; and that there was no Way to preserve him” (for that

that was their Method when They had a Mind to ruin a Man, to pretend a great Care that He might not be undone) “but by dismissing him from that Charge, which probably might preserve him from being further questioned, since it would be interpreted a Punishment inflicted on him by the King for his Crime, and so might stop him from being further prosecuted for the same Offence.” To which They added, “that it would be necessary in another Respect; for that many of the Officers as well as common Seamen had opened their Mouths very wide against him, especially after it was generally known that the King and the Duke were offended with him, and had not been at all reserved in charging him with several Reproaches: And that if the same Command were still continued in him, it could not be presumed that those Men would ever put themselves under his Command whom They had so much provoked.”

THESE Arguments urged by Men who were not known, at least by the King and Duke, to be his Enemies, and one of them thought to be (and in Truth was but for his Conjunction with the other) his Friend, and to wish him very well, prevailed upon the Judgments of Both of them; insomuch as They resolved to confer with the Chancellor, whom They knew to be much the Earl’s Friend.

And They Both expressed “very much Kindness
 “to and Confidence in the Affection and Integrity
 “and Courage of the Earl of *Sandwich*, though He
 “was to be blamed for his late Indiscretion, and a Resolution with their utmost Power to defend him from undergoing any Disgrace by it: But that it would contribute most to his Preservation, that He quitted the Employment, and that some other Persons should be sent to command the next Fleet in the Spring. For if He should again go to Sea, and the Parliament should press to have him sent for to answer what They had to object against him,

The King resolves to dismiss him with Honour.

“ his Majesty must either refuse to consent to it, which
 “ would make a Breach with his Parliament, or by
 “ consenting disorder his maritime Affairs to that De-
 “ gree, that the Enemy could not but take very great
 “ Advantage of it.” Therefore They commanded the
 Chancellor to confer with him and discourse the whole
 Matter to him, to assure him “ of the King’s and
 “ Duke’s Favour, and that They were in this Parti-
 “ cular moved only by their Tenderness to him; and
 “ that some Expedient should be first found out to
 “ remove him with Honour before any Notice should be
 “ taken of the Purpose to remove him, and before any
 “ other Person should be deputed to the Command; and
 “ that He himself should either propose the Expedient,
 “ if any such occurred to him that would be grateful,
 “ or judge of any that should be proposed to him.”

*The Chancellor
 for against re-
 moving him.*

THE Chancellor did presume to declare, “ that He
 thought that They were persuaded to apprehend
 “ Somewhat that could not fall out. That He would
 “ not take upon him to excuse the Earl of *Sandwich*
 “ for any Offence He had committed: If it were of
 “ that Magnitude that his Majesty thought fit to re-
 “ move him from his Command, Nobody could cen-
 “ sure it; and it may be in a Time of so much Li-
 “ cence the Severity might be thought seasonable. But
 “ the Apprehension that the Parliament would take
 “ more Notice of what the Earl had done, than They
 “ would of any other Breach of Order that was every
 “ Day committed, was without any just Reason.”
 But that Argument was presently silenced by their un-⁽³⁹⁷⁾
 dertaking to know Somewhat that the other could not
 do, and that there was no other Way to preserve him
 but that which was proposed.

THERE was at that Time an Opportunity in View,
 that might give the Earl of *Sandwich* an Employment
 very worthy of him, and which no Man could ima-
 gine would be assigned to any Man who was in Dis-
 grace. Sir *Richard Fanshawe*, who was a Gentleman
 very well known and very well beloved, had been first
 Ambassadour

*An Account of
 Sir Richard
 Fanshawe’s
 Embassy in
 Spain.*

Ambassadour in *Portugal*, and had behaved himself so well there, that when He returned from thence He was recommended, and upon the Matter desired, by that Crown to be sent to *Spain*, as the fittest Person to mediate in the King's Name between *Spain* and *Portugal*; and the King had before designed to send him Ambassadour into *Spain*, as well to settle a Treaty between *England* and *Spain* (for there was none yet), as to do all the Offices between those other Crowns which were requisite to the End aforesaid. No Man knew that Court better or was so well versed in the Language, having lived many Years before in that Court in much better Times. He had remained now about two Years, with such frequent Mortifications as Ministers use to meet with in Courts irresolute and perplexed in their own Affairs, as the Counsels of *Madrid* were in the last Years of the King, as his Indisposition increased or by relaxing administered some Hope. He had made a Journey to *Lisbon* upon the earnest Desire of *Spain*, and returned without Effect. The Peace was equally desired and equally necessary to Both Nations: But the *Portugal* was unmoveable in the Conditions of it, preferring the Worst that could fall out, even the abandoning their Country, rather than to be without the Sovereignty of it; and the *Spaniard* as positive not to part with their Title, though They had no Hope of their Subjection. Nor did *Spain* appear solicitous to conclude any Treaty with *England*, except either *Portugal* might be comprehended in it or abandoned by it.

ON a sudden, when the Recovery of the King grew more desperate (which is never a Thing notoriously known in that Court), a Project for a Treaty was sent to the Ambassadour, containing more Advantages in Trade to the Nation (which are the most important Matters in all those Treaties), and insisting upon fewer inconvenient Conditions, than had ever been in any former Treaties; without any Mention of *Tangier* or *Jamaica*, which had hitherto in the Entrance into any

Treaty since the King's Return made the Progress impossible: Only it was urged, "that it might either be
 "presently accepted and signed by the Ambassadour,
 "with a Covenant that it should be confirmed by the
 "King within so many Days after it should be presented to him, or else that there should be no more
 "Mention or Discourse of it."

THE Ambassadour, surprised with this Overture, compared what was offered with what He was to demand by his Instructions; and what was defective in those Particulars He added to the Articles presented to him, with such Additions as upon his own Observation and Conference with the Merchants occurred to him, or which seemed probable to be granted from Somewhat themselves had offered more than had been demanded by him. These Alterations and Amendments were approved and consented to, and quickly returned engrossed and signed by the King, on Condition to be presently signed by him, with the Undertaking that is formerly mentioned. It had been wisely done by the Ambassadour, and no more than his Duty, if He had first acquainted his Master or the Ministers with all that had passed, and expected a particular Order before He had signed it. But that being expressly refused, without concealing the Reason or the King's⁽³⁰⁸⁾ Weakness, "which" They declared "might make
 "such an Alteration in Counsels, that if it were not
 "done in his Life-Time They knew not what might
 "happen after:" This was thought as good an Argument by him for the Dispatch as it was to them; and that if He should not make Use of this Conjuncture, there would never be the like advantageous Treaty offered again. Hereupon He presently signed the Treaty, with some secret Article which was not to the Advantage of *Portugal*, otherwise than that He concluded, by what had been said to him at *Lisbon*, it would have been acceptable to them.

THIS Treaty was no sooner brought to the King by the *Spanish* Ambassadour (who had received it by an
 Express)

Express) and perused at the Council-Table, but many gross Faults were found to be in it. Besides the Gentleman's Absence, who would with greater Abilities have defended himself than any of those who had reproached him, it was no Advantage to him that He was known to be much in the Chancellor's Confidence: And therefore the more Pain was taken to persuade the King that He was a weak Man (which the King himself knew him not to be); and They put such a Gloss upon many of the Articles, and rejected others as unprofitable which were thought to contain Matters of great Moment, that They would not consent that a Trade to the *West-Indies* could be any Benefit to *England*, and the like. In the End, the King concluded that He would not sign the Treaty; for which He had some Access of Reason within a Month after, by the Death of the King of *Spain*.

WHEN all these Reproaches were cast upon the Ambassador, and Notice given that the King did disavow the Treaty and refused to sign it; it was reasonably resolved that He ought not to remain there longer as Ambassador, but to be recalled. *He is recalled.* But the Plague driving the King from *London* and dispersing the Council, the pursuing this Resolution was no more assumed, till the Business of the Earl of *Sandwich* made it thought on as a good Expedient; and the Chancellor was directed in his Discourse with the Earl to mention it, as a proper Expedient in his Condition to be laid Hold on and embraced.

THE Chancellor entered upon the whole Discourse with that Freedom and Openness that became a Man who He knew was not suspected by him. He told him all that himself knew of the Affair, and the Apprehension the King had of the Parliament, and the Expedient He had thought of to remove him out of the Reach or Noise of Clamour, of which He made him the Judge; and "if He did not like this Employment for *Spain*, "some other should be thought of and published before

“ fore it should be known, and before the Command
 “ of the Fleet should be committed to any other.

THE Earl of *Sandwich* lamented “ that it had been
 “ in any Body’s Power to make so ill Impressions in the
 “ King and the Duke, upon his having committed a
 “ Trespas for which He was heartily sorry;” and
 confessed “ it was a Presumption and Indiscretion, the
 “ ill Consequence whereof He had not Wit enough
 “ to discover : However He did not yet think it so
 “ great, as to make him fear to give an Account of it
 “ before the Parliament, or any Thing that They
 “ could do upon it.” He seemed not to be ignorant
 of the Offices Sir *William Coventry* did him, “ in draw-
 “ ing Complaints and Reproaches from those who had
 “ neither Cause nor Inclination to speak to his Disad-
 “ vantage. He was sensible of the General’s Want of
 “ Justice towards him, which He knew not to what to
 “ impute but to his Pride and Weakness. He did ac-
 “ knowledge it great Bounty in the King, since He
 “ thought him unfit and unworthy to continue in the (309)
 “ Command He had, that He would yet assign him
 “ to so honourable an Employment; which, though
 “ it could not wipe off the Reproach of being dis-
 “ missed from the other Charge, was yet a sufficient
 “ Evidence that He was not out of his Majesty’s good
 “ Opinion and Confidence : And therefore He did
 “ with all Chearfulness submit to his Majesty’s Plea-
 “ sure, and would be ready for his Journey to *Spain* as
 “ soon as his Dispatch should be prepared.”

HE told him then, “ that He was in one Respect
 “ glad to be removed from his present Command, for
 “ He was confident that He would see no more great
 “ Matters done at Sea, for that the common Men
 “ were weary of the War; and that Sir *William* would
 “ never suffer any Peace to be in the Fleet, but had
 “ Creatures ready to do all ill Offices amongst them,
 “ whom He cherished and preferred before the best
 “ Officers;” and told him many other Things which
 fell

fell out afterwards, and said “ Sir *William* would make
 “ any Man who should succeed him weary of his
 “ Command, by sending such Variety of Orders that
 “ He would not know what to do.” And shortly after
 He gave him a perfect Journal of his last Expedition,
 in which there were indeed many Orders which must
 needs startle and perplex a Commander in Chief,
 it being his usual Course to signify the Duke’s Pleasure
 in Matters of the greatest Importance without the
 Duke’s Hand; which yet They durst not disobey, nor
 produce in their own Justification, being such as in
 Truth were no such Warrants as They ought to obey,
 and yet would reflect upon his Royal Highness: And
 told him likewise of the ill Inventions He had set on
 Foot, by which Prince *Rupert* was stopped from being
 joined with him in the Command of the last Fleet.

WHEN the Chancellor had informed the King of
 the Earl of *Sandwich* his Submission to his Pleasure,
 and that He would be ready to undertake the Employ-
 ment for *Spain* as soon as his Majesty pleased; here-
 upon the King declared his Resolution in Council to
 send the Earl of *Sandwich* his Extraordinary Ambassa-
 dour, as well to correct and amend the Mistakes and
 Errours in the late Treaty, as farther to mediate the
 Peace with *Portugal*, which upon the Death of the
 King was in some Respect more practicable. And to
 that Purpose He sent Sir *Robert Southwell*, one of the
 Clerks of the Council, Envoy into *Portugal*, that the
 Earl might the better know the Inclinations of that
 People: And all Instructions necessary were presently
 to be prepared to Both those Ends.

THIS first Work being thus dispatched, it remained
 to settle the Command, for the ensuing Year, of the
 Fleet; and there can be little Doubt made, but that
 the King and the Duke had resolved this at the same
 Time that They determined that the Earl of *Sandwich*
 should not continue in it: However it was communi-
 cated to Nobody, till the Designation of the other was
 published. Then the King told the Chancellor, “ that
 “ his

*The Earl of
Sandwich
sent Ambassa-
dour Extra-
ordinary into
Spain.*

*The King
thinks of ap-
pointing
Prince Rupert
and the Gene-
ral joint Ad-
mirals.*

“ his Brother and He had long considered that Affair,
 “ and could not think of any Expedient so good for
 “ the Performance of that Service, as a Conjunction
 “ between Prince *Rupert* and the General, and making
 “ them Both joint Commanders in Chief of the Fleet
 “ for the next Expedition.” There had many Exceptions occurred to them against committing the Charge to either of them singly; nor were They without Apprehension of some which might fall out by joining them together, which would be much greater, if They were not Both well prepared to embrace the Occasion, and themselves to like the Designation. For the doing this the Chancellor was again thought to be the fittest Man, being believed to have the greatest Interest in Both of them, and most in him from whom the greatest Difficulties were expected to arise, which was Prince *Rupert*. It was easy to know Prince *Rupert's* Mind, who was in the House: Yet They were Both in Cases of that Nature desirous always to impart what They desired by others, rather than to debate it first themselves. But then the General was at *London*, besieged by the Plague; and the Matter was not fit to be communicated by Letter, because, if He should make any Scruple of concurring in it, it was to be declined. (310)

UPON these Considerations it was resolved; first, that the Chancellor should prepare Prince *Rupert*, and then that the General should be sent for to *Oxford* upon Pretences, of which enough would occur. The Prince, though He was much more willing to have gone alone, willingly conformed to the King's Pleasure: And so Both the King and Duke spake at large with him upon all that was necessary to be adjusted. And the General was sent to, “ that it was necessary for the King to “ confer with him upon some Propositions, which “ were made to him upon the *East-India* Ships” (which Transaction was not at that Time yet concluded); “ and therefore that on such a Day He should come “ from *London* early in the Morning” (for it was deep Winter) “ in his own Coach to *Beaconsfield*, where He “ should

Prince *Rupert*
 willingly ac-
 cepts of a joint
 Commission.

“ should find another Coach ready to receive him, and
 “ another at another Stage ; so that He might be with
 “ Ease at *Oxford* the same Night,” as He was, and
 very graciously received by the King, as he deserved
 to be. But as He had no Manner of Imagination of
 the true Reason why He was sent for, so neither his
 Majesty nor the Duke would impart it to him, out of
 real Imagination that it would not be grateful to him ;
 but that was left to be imparted and dexterously ma-
 naged by the Chancellor, in whom, as was said be-
 fore, it was generally believed that He had great Con-
 fidence.

HE the next Morning entered into Conference with
 him, and after general Discourses told him, “ that the
 “ King had disposed the Earl of *Sandwich* to another
 “ Employment, for which He did not seem sorry ;
 “ and that it must now be thought of, who was fit to
 “ command in his Place : That there was no Hope of
 “ Peace, instead whereof there would be an entire
 “ Conjunction between *France* and the *Dutch* ; and
 “ that the *French Fleet*” (the Ambassadors being
 about this Time gone) “ would be ready to join with
 “ them as soon as They should put to Sea ; and there
 “ was much Doubt that the *Dane* would betake him-
 “ self to the same Alliance ; and all would be at Sea
 “ before We should be, except extraordinary Diligence
 “ were used, which the Continuance of the Plague
 “ would hardly admit.” The General presently an-
 swered, “ that no Person was so fit for that Command
 “ as Prince *Rupert*, who understood the Seas well, and
 “ had that Courage that was necessary in this Con-
 “ juncture.”

THE Chancellor told him, “ that the King had great
 “ Confidence in the Affection and unquestionable Cou-
 “ rage of Prince *Rupert* : But He was not sure, that
 “ the Quickness of his Spirit and the Strength of his
 “ Passion might not sometimes stand in Need of the
 “ Advice and Assistance of a Friend, who should be
 “ in equal Authority with him ; and had therefore
 “ thought

*The Chancel-
 lor confers
 with the Ge-
 neral upon the
 Subject.*

“ thought of finding some fit Person to be joined with
 “ and so make one Admiral of two Persons.” To
 which the other not replying suddenly, He continued
 his Discourse, saying, “ that the King had such a Per-
 “ son in his View, whom He would never acquaint
 “ with it, until He might find some Way to discover
 “ that the proposing it would not be ingrateful to
 “ him; and that He was obliged to make this Disco-
 “ very, and that the Person in the King’s View was
 “ himself; and that if He and Prince *Rupert* were
 “ joined in the Command of the Fleet and undertook ⁽³¹¹⁾
 “ it, his Majesty would believe that He had done all
 “ that was in his Power, and would with great Hope
 “ commit all the rest to God Almighty.” He said,
 “ He thought He had behaved himself most like a
 “ Friend in telling him shortly and plainly what the
 “ King’s Drift was, towards which, though the Secret
 “ was known to none but the Duke of *York*, yet such
 “ an Advance was made, that his Majesty was well
 “ assured that Prince *Rupert* would readily comply with
 “ his Pleasure.” Upon the whole Matter He desired
 him “ to deal as like a Friend with him, and to tell
 “ him freely if He had no Mind to the Employment;
 “ and He would take upon him to prevent the mak-
 “ ing the Proposition to him, and that neither the
 “ King nor Duke should take it unkindly.”

THE General appeared really surpris’d and full of
 Thoughts: and after a short Pause He desired him
 “ not to believe that He made the least Difficulty in
 “ his Thoughts of undertaking the Service; but many
 “ Things had occurred to him in the Discourse, which
 “ He would mention anon.” He said, “ that for his
 “ own Part He should be willing to go out of *London*
 “ To-morrow, and think himself much safer in any
 “ Action against the *Dutch* than He could be in the
 “ Post He was, where every Day Men died about him
 “ and in his View; and as He thought that He had
 “ done the King better Service by staying in *London*,
 “ than He could have done in any other Place, so He
 “ believed

“believed if the Sickneſs ſhould continue” (as it was like enough to do, there appearing yet very little Decrease), “his Maſteſty might think that his Preſence might be as neceſſary there as it had been.” The Chancellor replied, “that his Maſteſty had foreſeen that Contingency; and had already reſolved that if that fell out to be the Caſe, He ſhould rather deſire his Reſidence ſhould be where it had been (though He was much troubled to expoſe him to ſo much Hazard) than in any other Place: But that his Maſteſty’s Confidence in the Mercy of God, that He would take off this heavy Viſitation before the End of Winter, had ſuggeſted the other Deſignation of him to the Service of the Fleet, upon the good Conduct whereof his own and the Kingdom’s Happineſs ſo much depended.”

THE General quickly replied, “that for that Matter He was ſo willing to engage himſelf, that if the King pleaſed He would moſt readily ſerve under the Command of Prince *Rupert*.” To which the other answered as readily, “that the King would never conſent to that.” And ſo They reſolved preſently to go to the King, that his Maſteſty and the Duke, might know what would pleaſe them ſo much. And as They were going, the General ſaid ſmiling, “that He would tell him now what the true Cauſe was, that had made that Pauſe in him upon the firſt Diſcourſe of the Buſineſs; and that it would be neceſſary for him, after all Things ſhould be adjusted with the King and Duke and Prince *Rupert*, that what concerned him ſhould ſtill remain a Secret, and Prince *Rupert* be underſtood to have that Command alone. For if his Wife ſhould come to know it, before He had by Degrees prepared her for it, She would break out into ſuch Paſſions as would be very uneaſy to him: But He would in a ſhort Time diſpoſe her well enough; and in the mean Time Nothing ſhould be omitted on his Part, that was neceſſary for the Advancement of the Service.” Hereupon

upon the King, the Duke, the Prince and the General consulted of all that was to be done: And He at the End of two Days returned to *London* with the same Expedition that He came to *Oxford*, together with Sir *George Carteret* the Treasurer of the Navy, and all Orders that were requisite for the Sale of the *East-India* Ships, upon which all Provisions for the Fleet were to be made. ⁽³¹⁾

THOUGH the Parliament at *Oxford* had preserved that excellent Harmony that the King had proposed, and hardly wished any Thing in which They had not concurred, insomuch as never Parliament so entirely sympathised with his Majesty; and though it passed more Acts for his Honour and Security than any other had ever done in so short a Session: Yet it produced a Precedent of a very unhappy Nature, the Circumstances whereof in the present were unusual and pernicious, and the Consequences in the future very mischievous, and therefore not unfit to be set out at large.

THE Lord *Arlington* and Sir *William Coventry*, closely united in the same Purposes and especially against the Chancellor, had a great Desire to find some Means to change the Course and Method of the King's Counsels; which They could hardly do whilst the same Persons continued still in the same Employments. Their Malice was most against the Chancellor: Yet They knew not what Suggestions to make to the King against him, having always pretended to his Majesty, how falsely soever, to have a great Esteem of him. Their Project therefore was to remove the Treasurer, who was as weary of his Office and of the Court as any Body could be of him: But his Reputation was so great, his Wisdom so unquestionable, and his Integrity so confessed, that They knew in neither of those Points He could be impeached. And the King himself had Kindness and Reverence towards him, though He had for some Years thought him less active, and so less fit for that Administration, than every Body else knew him to be: And these Men had long insinuated

ated unto his Majesty, "how ill all the Business of
 "the Exchequer was managed by the continual Infirmities of the Treasurer, who between the Gout and
 "the Stone had not Ease enough to attend the painful
 "Function of that Office, but left the Whole to be
 "managed and governed by his Secretary Sir *Philip Warwick*;" upon whose Experience and Fidelity He did in Truth much rely, as He had Reason to do, his Reputation for Both being very signal and universal. And towards fastening this Reproach They had the Contribution of the Lord *Ashley*, who was good at looking into other Mens Offices, and was not pleased to see Sir *Philip Warwick's* Credit greater than his with the Treasurer, and his Advice more followed. And the other two had craftily insinuated to him, that He would make much a better Treasurer; which, whilst He thought They were in Earnest, prevailed with him not only to suggest Materials to them for that Reproach, but to inculcate the same to the King upon several Occasions: But when He discovered that They intended Nothing of Advantage to his Particular, He withdrew from that Intrigue, though in all other Particulars He sided with them.

THE King was too easy in making Assignations upon his Revenue, which would make it incapable to satisfy others which were more necessary, and to grant Suits by Lease or Farm (sometimes to worthy Men), which were of mischievous Consequence to all the Measures which could be taken; and those the Treasurer found himself obliged to stop: And commonly upon informing the King of it and of his Reasons, his Majesty was very well pleased with what He had done, and (as hath been said before) did often give himself Ease from the Importunity of many, by signing the Warrants They brought to him, in Confidence that either the Chancellor or Treasurer would not suffer them to pass. However it raised Clamour; and there were Men enough who had the same Provocation to make a great Noise; and They easily found Countenance

from others, who desired it should be believed, "that
 "it was a high Arrogance and Presumption in any⁽³¹³⁾
 "Subject to stop any Signature of the King, and so
 "make his Majesty's Grace and Bounty to be ineffec-
 "tual, if his Approbation and Consent was not like-
 "wise procured." There was visibly great Want of
 Money, though there were vast Sums raised; which
 They laboured to persuade the King proceeded from
 the Unskilfulness or Unactivity of the Treasurer, who
 was again tired with the Vexation and Indignity, when
 He had so frequently presented the King with the Par-
 ticulars of the Receipts and Disbursements, and made
 it demonstrable how much his Expences exceeded all
 his Income; and how impossible it would be, without
 lessening these, to provide wherewithal to supply ne-
 cessary Occasions: But this was an ungracious Subject,
 and opened more Mouths than could easily be stopped.

THERE was a Man who hath been often named,
 Sir *George Downing*, who by having been some Years
 in the Office of one of the Tellers of the Exchequer,
 and being of a restless Brain, did understand enough
 of the Nature of the Revenue and of the Course of the
 Receipt, to make others who understood less of it to
 think that He knew the Bottom of it, and that the
 Expedients, which should be proposed by him towards
 a Reformation, could not but be very pertinent and
 practicable. And He was not unhurt in the Emolu-
 ments of his own Office, which were lessened by the
 Assignations made to the Bankers, upon the Receipts
 themselves, without the Money's ever passing through
 the Tellers Office; by which, though They did receive
 their just Fees, They had not what They would have
 taken if the Money had passed through their own
 Hands. He was a Member of Parliament, and a very
 voluminous Speaker, who would be thought wiser in
 Trade than any of the Merchants, and to understand
 the Mystery of all Professions much better than the
 Professors of them. And such a Kind of Chat is al-
 ways acceptable in a Crowd (where few understand

many

many Subjects), who are always glad to find those put out of Countenance who thought They understood it best: And so They were much pleased to hear Sir *George Downing* inveigh against the Ignorance of those, who could only smile at his Want of Knowledge.

THIS Gentleman was very grateful to Sir *William Coventry* as well as to Lord *Arlington*, and was ready to instruct them in all the Miscarriages and Oversights in the Treasury, and to propose Ways of Reformation to them. "The Root of all Miscarriage was the unlimited Power of the Lord Treasurer, that no Money could issue out without his particular Direction, and all Money was paid upon no other Rules than his Order; so that let the King want as much as was possible, no Money could be paid by his without the Treasurer's Warrant;" which to Men who understood no more than They did seemed a very great Incongruity. "But," He said, "if there were such a Clause inserted into the Bill which was to be passed in the House of Commons for Money, it might prevent all Inconveniences, and the King's Money would be paid only to those Persons and Purposes to which his Majesty should assign them; and more Money would be presently advanced upon this Act of Parliament, than the Credit of the Bankers could procure;" for He foresaw, that would be a very natural Objection against his Clause and the Method He proposed.

He made his Discourse so plausible to them that They were much pleased with it; and it provided for so many of their own Ends, that They neither did nor were able to consider the Reverse of it, but were most solicitous that there might no Obstructions arise in the Way. If it should come to the Knowledge of the Chancellor, He would oppose it for the Novelty, and the Consequences that might attend it; and if the Treasurer had Notice of it, He would not consent to it for the Indignity that his Office was subjected to: They therefore discoursed it to the King as a Matter of high

Importance to his Service if it were secretly carried; and then brought the Projector, who was an indefatigable Talker, to inform his Majesty of the many Benefits which would accrue to his Service by this new Method that He had devised, and the many Mischiefs which would be prevented.

THERE were many Things which were suggested, that were agreeable to some Fancies that the King himself had entertained; there would not need now so many Formalities, as Warrants and Privy Seals, before Monies could be paid; and Money might hereafter issue out and be paid without the Treasurer's Privy; in which many Conveniences seemed to appear: Though besides the Innovation and Breach of all old Order, which is ever attended by many Mischiefs unforeseen, there were very great Inconveniences in View in those very Particulars which They fancied to be Conveniences. But it was enough that the King so well liked the Advice upon Conference with them three, that He resolved to communicate it with no others; but appointed that when the Bill for Supply should be brought into the House (it being to be, as was said before, for the Sum of), at the Commitment *Downing* should offer that *Proviso*, which had been drawn by himself, and read to the King and the other two. And because it was foreseen, that it would be opposed by many of those who were known to be very affectionate to the King's Service, They had all Authority privately to assure them, that it was offered with the King's Approbation.

*A Clamour
raised against
the Bankers.*

AGAINST the Time that the Bill was to be brought in, They prepared the House by many unseasonable, bitter Invectives against the Bankers, called them Cheats, Bloodsuckers, Extortioners, and loaded them with all the Reproaches which can be cast upon the worst Men in the World, and would have them looked upon as the Causes of all the King's Necessities, and of the Want of Monies throughout the Kingdom: All which was a plausible Argument, as all Invectives against particular

particular Men are; and all Men who had Faculties of depraving, and of making ill Things appear worse than they are, were easily engaged with them. The Bankers did not consist of above the Number of five or six Men, some whereof were Aldermen and had been Lord Mayors of *London*, and all the rest were Aldermen or had fined for Aldermen. They were a Tribe that had risen and grown up in *Cromwell's* Time, and never were heard of before the late Troubles, till when the whole Trade of Money had passed through the Hands of the Scriveners: They were for the most Part Goldsmiths, Men known to be so rich, and of so good Reputation, that all the Money of the Kingdom would be trusted or deposited in their Hands.

FROM the Time of the King's Return, when though great and vast Sums were granted, yet such vast Debts were presently to be paid, the Armies by Land and Sea to be presently discharged, that the Money that was to be collected in six and six Months would not provide for those present unavoidable Issues; but there must be two or three hundred thousand Pounds gotten together in few Days, before They could begin to disband the Armies or to pay the Seamen off; the deferring whereof every Month increased the Charge to an incredible Proportion: None could supply those Occasions but the Bankers, which brought the King's Ministers first acquainted with them; and They were so well satisfied with their Proceedings, that They did always declare, "that They were so necessary to the King's Affairs, that They knew not how
 5) " to have conducted them without that Assistance."

THE Method of Proceeding with them was thus. As soon as an Act of Parliament was passed, the King consent for those Bankers (for there was never any Contract made with them but in his Majesty's Presence): And He being attended by the Ministers of the Revenue, and commonly the Chancellor and others of the Council, the Lord Treasurer presented a particular Information to the King of the most urgent Occasions

for present Money, either for disbanding Troops, or discharging Ships, or setting out Fleets (all which are to be done together and not by Parcels); so that it was easily foreseen what ready Money must be provided. And this Account being made, the Bankers were called in, and told, "that the King had Occasion to use such
 " a Sum of ready Money within such a Day; They
 " understood the Act of Parliament, and so might
 " determine what Money They could lend the King,
 " and what Manner of Security would best satisfy
 " them." Whereupon one said, "He would within
 " such a Time pay one hundred thousand Pounds," another more, and another less, as They found themselves provided; for there was no joint Stock amongst them, but every one supplied according to his Ability. They were desirous to have eight in the Hundred, which was not unreasonable to ask and the King was
 " willing to give: But upon better Consideration amongst Themselves, They thought fit to decline that Demand as being capable of turning to their Disadvantage, and would leave the Interest to the King's own Bounty, declaring "that themselves paid six in the
 " hundred for all the Money with which They were
 " intrusted," which was known to be true.

THEN They demanded such a Receipt and Assignment to be made to them by the Lord Treasurer, for the Payment of the first Money that should be payable upon that Act of Parliament, or a Branch of that Act, or Tallies upon the Farmers of the Customs or Excise, or such other Branches of the Revenue as were least charged; having the King's own Word and the Faith of the Treasurer, that They should be exactly complied with; for let the Security be what They could desire, it would still be in the Power of the King or of the Lord Treasurer to divert what was assigned to them to other Purposes. Therefore there is Nothing surer, than that the Confidence in the King's Justice, and the unquestionable Reputation of the Lord Treasurer's Honour and Integrity, was the true Foundation of that
 Credit

Credit which supplied all his Majesty's Necessities and Occasions; and his Majesty always treated those Men very graciously as his very good Servants, and all his Ministers looked upon them as very honest, and valuable Men. And in this Manner for many Years after his Majesty's Return, even to the unhappy Beginning of the *Dutch* War, the publick Expences were carried on, it may be, with too little Difficulty, which possibly increased some Expences; and Nobody opened his Mouth against the Bankers, who every Day increased in Credit and Reputation, and had the Money of all Men at their Disposal.

THE Solicitor General brought in the Bill for Supply according to Course, in that Form as those Bills for Money ought and used to be: And after it had been read the second Time, when it was committed Downing offered his *Downing* offered his *Proviso*, the End of which was, fers a new Proviso in the Bill for the Supply. "to make all the Money that was to be raised by this Bill to be applied only to those Ends to which it was given, which was the carrying on the War, and to no other Purpose whatsoever, by what Authority soever;" with many other Clauses in it so monstrous, that the Solicitor and many others who were most watchful for the King's Service declared against it, as introductive to a Commonwealth, and not fit for Monarchy. It was observed, "that the Assignment of the Money that was given by Act of Parliament to be paid in another Manner and to other Persons than had been formerly used, though there wanted not plausible Pretences, was the Beginning of the late Rebellion, and furnished the Parliament with Money to raise a Rebellion, when the King had none to defend himself; which had made *Cromwell* wise enough never to permit any of those Clauses, or that the Impositions which were raised should be disposed to any Uses or by any Persons but by himself and his own Orders." And by such and other Arguments, which the Contrivers had not foreseen, the *Proviso* had been absolutely thrown out, if Sir Wil-

liam Coventry and *Downing* had not gone to the Solicitor and others who spake against it, and assured them, "that it was brought in by the King's own Direction, "and for Purposes well understood by his Majesty." Upon which They were contented that it should be committed, yet with Direction "that such and such "Expressions should be reformed and amended."

*The King com-
mands him not
to oppose it
farther.*

IN the Afternoon the King sent for the Solicitor, and forbad him any more to oppose that *Proviso*, for that it was much for his Service. And when He would inform him of many Mischiefs which would inevitably attend it, some were of those which He had no Mind to prevent, being to lessen their Power who He thought had too much, and the other He cared not to hear; and said only, "that He would bear the Inconveni- "ences which would ensue upon his own Account, for "the Benefits which would accrue, and which it was "not yet seasonable to communicate with other Mem- "bers of the House of Commons, whom He thought "not to be so able to dispute it with him." * *

HE enlarged more in Discourse, and told them, "that this would be an Encouragement to lend Mo- "ney, by making the Payment with Interest so certain "and fixed, that there could be no Security in the "Kingdom like it, when it should be out of any Man's "Power to cause any Money that should be lent To- "morrow to be paid before that which was lent Yef- "terday, but that all should be infallibly paid in Or- "der; by which the Exchequer (which was now "Bankrupt and without any Credit) would be quickly "in that Reputation, that all Men would deposite "their Money there: And that He hoped in few "Years, by observing the Method He now proposed, "He would make his Exchequer the best and the greatest "Bank in *Europe*, and where all *Europe* would, when "it was once understood, pay in their Money for the "certain Profit it would yield, and the indubitable

* * SOMETHING seems to be wanting to make the Sense clear. *Qu.* Whether what follows was spoken by *Downing* to the King, *Arlington* and *Coventry*; or, by the King to the Solicitor. In the latter Case *told them* (as it is in the *M.S.*) should be altered to *told him*.

“Certainty that They should receive their Money.” And with this Discourse the vain Man, who had lived many Years in *Holland*, and would be thought to have made himself Master of all their Policy, had amused the King, and his two Friends, undertaking to erect the King’s Exchequer into the same Degree of Credit that the Bank of *Amsterdam* stood upon, the Institution whereof He undertook to know, and from thence to make it evident, “that all that should be transplanted “into *England*, and all Nations would sooner send “their Money into the Exchequer, than into *Amsterdam* or *Genoa* or *Venice*.” And it cannot be enough wondered at, that this Intoxication prevailed so far that no Argument would be heard against it, the King having upon those Notions, and with the Advice of those Counsellors, in his own Thoughts new-modelled the whole Government of his Treasury, in which He (317) resolved to have no more superiour Officers. But this was only reserved within his own Breast, and not communicated to any but those who devised the Project, without weighing that the Security for Monies so deposited in Banks is the Republick itself, which must expire before that Security can fail; which can never be depended on in a Monarchy, where the Monarch’s sole Word can cancel all those formal Provisions which can be made (as hath since been too evident), by vacating those Assignations which have been made upon that and the like Acts of Parliament, for such Time as the present Necessities have made counsellable; which would not then be admitted to be possible.

AND so without any more Opposition, which was not grateful to the King, that Act passed the House of Commons, with the Correction only of such Absurdities as had not been foreseen by those who framed the *Proviso*, and which did indeed cross their own Designs: And so it was sent from the Commons to the House of Peers for their Consent. *It is passed by the Commons.*

BILLS of that Nature which concern the raising of Money seldom stay long with the Lords; but as of Custom,

Custom, which They call Privilege, they are first begun in the House of Commons, where they endure long Deliberation, so when they are adjusted there, they seem to pass through the House of Peers with the reading twice and formal Commitment, in which any Alterations are very rarely made, except in any Impositions which are laid upon their own Persons, for which there are usually Blanks left, the filling up whereof is all the Amendment or Alteration that is commonly made by the Lords: So that the same Engrossment that is sent up by the Commons is usually the Bill itself that is presented to the King for his Royal Assent. Yet there can be no reasonable Doubt made, but that those Bills of any Kind of Subsidies, as Excise, Chimney-Money, or any other Way of Imposition, are as much the Gift and Present from the House of Peers as they are from the House of Commons, and are no more valid without their Consent than without the Consent of the other; and They may alter any Clause in them that They do not think for the Good of the People. But because the House of Commons is the immediate Representative of the People, it is presumed that They best know what They can bear or are willing to submit to, and what They propose to give is proportionable to what They can spare; and therefore the Lords use not to put any Stop in the Passage of such Bills, much less diminish what is offered by them to the King.

AND in this Parliament the Expedition that was used in all Business out of Fear of the Sickness, and out of an impatient Desire to be separated, was very notorious: And as soon as this Bill for Supply was sent to the Lords, very many Members of the House of Commons left the Town and departed, conceiving that there was no more left for them to do; for it was generally thought, that at the passing that Act with the rest which were ready, the King would prorogue the Parliament. Yet the Novelty in this Act so surprised the Lords, that They thought it worthy a very serious Deliberation,

Deliberation, and used not their customary Expedition in the passing it. It happened to be in an ill Conjunction, when the terrible cold Weather kept the Lord Treasurer from going out of his Chamber for Fear of the Gout, of which the Chancellor laboured then in that Extremity, that He was obliged to remain in his Bed; and neither of them had received Information of this Affair. Many of the Lords came to them and advertised them of this new *Proviso*; and some of them went to the King to let him know the Prejudice it would bring him, and censured the ill Hand that had contrived it.

Some Lords remonstrate to the King against this Proviso.

THE Lord *Ashley*, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and had been privy in the first Cabal in which this Reformation was designed, whether because He found himself left out in the most secret Part of it, or not enough considered in it, passionately inveighed against it both publickly and privately, and according to the Fertility of his Wit and Invention found more Objections against it than any Body else had done, and the Consequences to be more destructive; with which He so alarmed the King, that his Majesty was contented that the Matter should be debated in his Presence; and because the Chancellor was in his Bed, thought his Chamber to be the fittest Place for the Consultation: And the Lord Treasurer, though indisposed and apprehensive of the Gout, could yet use his Feet, and was very willing to attend his Majesty there, without the least Imagination that He was aimed at in the least.

The King consults the private Committee upon it.

THE King appointed the Hour for the Meeting, where his Majesty with his Brother was present, the Chancellor in his Bed, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord *Ashley*, the Lord *Arlington*, and Sir *William Coventry*; the Attorney General and the Solicitor were likewise present to word any Alterations which should be fit to be made; and Sir *George Downing* likewise attended, who the King still believed would be able to answer all Objections which could be made. The

Chan-

Chancellor had never seen the *Proviso* which contained all the Novelty (for all the other Parts of the Bill were according to the Course), and the Treasurer had read it only an Hour or two before the Meeting: The Lord *Aspley* therefore, who had heard it read in the House of Peers and observed what that House thought of it, opened the whole Business with the Novelty, and the ill Consequence that must inevitably attend it; all which He enforced with great Clearness and Evidence of Reason, and would have enlarged with some Sharpness upon the Advisers of it.

BUT the King himself stopped that by declaring, “that whatsoever had been done in the whole Transaction of it had been with his Privy and Approbation, and the whole Blame must be laid to his own Charge, who it seems was like to suffer most by it.” He confessed, “He was so fully convinced in his own Understanding, that the Method proposed would prove to his infinite Advantage and to the Benefit of the Kingdom, that He had converted many in the House who had disliked it; and that since it came into the House of Peers, He had spoken with many of the Lords who seemed most unsatisfied with it: And He was confident He had so well informed many of them, that They had changed their Opinion and would be no more against that *Proviso*. However He confessed that some remained still obstinate against it, and They had given some Reasons which He had not thought of, and which in Truth He could not answer: He wished therefore that They would apply themselves to the most weighty Objections which were in View, or which might probably result from thence, and think of the best Remedies which might be applied by Alterations and Amendments in the House of Lords, which He doubted not but that the Commons would concur in.”

THE first Objection was “ the Novelty, which in *Objections made against it there.*
 “ Cases of that Nature was very dangerous, remem-
 “ bering what hath been mentioned before of the
 “ Beginning of the late Rebellion, by putting the
 “ Money to run in another Channel than it had used
 “ to do : And that when once such a Clause was ad-
 “ mitted in one Bill, the King would hardly get it
 “ left out in others of the same Kind hereafter ; and
 “ so his Majesty should never be Master of his own
 (319) “ Money, nor the Ministers of his Revenue be able
 “ to assign Monies to defray any casual Expences of
 “ what Nature soever ; but that upon the Matter
 “ the Authority of the Treasurer and Chancellor of
 “ the Exchequer must be invested in the Tellers of
 “ the Exchequer, who were subordinate Officers,
 “ and qualified to do Nothing but by the immediate
 “ Order of those their superiour Officers. And though
 “ there are four Tellers in equal Authority, yet Sir
 “ *George Downing* would in a short Time make his
 “ Office the sole Receipt, and the rest neither receive
 “ nor pay but by his Favour and Consent.”

THE King had in his Nature so little Reverence
 or Esteem for Antiquity, and did in Truth so much
 contemn old Orders, Forms and Institutions, that the
 Objections of Novelty rather advanced than obstruct-
 ed any Proposition. He was a great Lover of new
 Inventions, and thought them the Effects of Wit
 and Spirit, and fit to controul the superstitious Ob-
 servation of the Dictates of our Ancestors : So that
 Objection made little Impression. And for the Con-
 tinuance of the same Clause in future Bills, He look-
 ed for it as necessary in Order to the Establishment
 of his Bank, which would abundantly recompense for
 his Loss of Power in Disposal of his own Money.
 And though it was made appear by very solid Ar-
 guments, that the Imagination of a Bank was a mere
 Chimera in itself, and the erecting it in the Exche-
 quer must suppose that the Crown must be always
 liable to a vast Debt upon Interest, which would be

very ill Husbandry ; and that there was great Hope, that after a happy Peace should be concluded, and Care should be taken to bring the Expences into a narrower Compass, the King might in a short Time be out of Debt : Yet all Discourse against a Bank was thought to proceed from pure Ignorance. And Sir *George* was let loose to instruct them how easy it was to be established, who talked imperiously “ of the Method by which it came to be
 “ settled in *Holland* by the Industry of very few Per-
 “ sons, when the greatest Men despaired of it as
 “ impracticable ; yet the Obstinacy of the other pre-
 “ vailed, and it was now become the Strength,
 “ Wealth and Security of the State : That the same
 “ would be brought to pass much more easily here,
 “ and would be no sooner done, than *England* would
 “ be the Seat of all the Trade of *Christendom*.” And then assuming all He said to be Demonstration, He wrapped himself up, according to his Custom, in a Mist of Words that Nobody could see Light in, but They who by often hearing the same Chat thought They understood it.

THE next Objection was “ against the Injustice of
 “ this Clause, and the ill Consequence of that In-
 “ justice. The Necessities of the Crown being still
 “ pressing, and the Fleet every Day calling for Sup-
 “ ply, Money had been borrowed from the Bankers
 “ upon the Credit of this Bill, as soon as the first
 “ Vote had passed in the House of Commons for
 “ so considerable a Supply ; and the Treasurer had
 “ made Assignments upon several Branches of the
 “ Revenue, which had been preserved and designed
 “ for the Army and the immediate Expences of the
 “ King’s and Queen’s Household, and the like un-
 “ avoidable Issues, upon Presumption that enough
 “ would come in from this new Act of Parliament
 “ to be replaced to those Purposes, before the Time
 “ that would require it should come. But by this
 “ *Proviso* especial Care was taken, that none of the
 “ Money

“ Money that should be raised should be applied to
“ the Payment of any Debt that was contracted be-
“ fore the Royal Assent was given to the Bill : So
“ that both the Money lent by the Bankers upon
“ the Promise made to them must be unpaid and
“ unsecured, and the Money that had been supplied
“ from other Assignations must not be applied to
(320) “ the original Use ; by which the Army and House-
“ hold would be unprovided for, the Inconvenience
“ whereof had no Need of an Enlargement.”

“ BESIDES that the Bankers had the King’s Word,
“ and the Engagement of the Ministers of the Re-
“ venue, that all new Bills of Supply should still
“ make good what former Securities were not suffi-
“ cient to do ; as by this heavy Visitation of the
“ Plague, the Assignations which had been made
“ upon the Excise and Chimney-Money, and by the
“ Decay of Trade that the War and Sickness toge-
“ ther had produced, the Assignations made upon
“ the Customs, had brought in so little Money, that
“ the Debt to the Bankers, which but for those Ob-
“ structions might by this Time have been much
“ abated, remained still very little less than it was
“ near a Year before. And when it should be known,
“ that this Sum of Money that was to be raised was
“ exempt from the Payment of any of those and the
“ like Debts, it would be a great Heartbreaking to
“ all those, who had not only lent all their own
“ Estates, but the whole Estates of many thousands
“ of other Men, to the King, and must expect to be
“ called upon by all who have trusted them for their
“ Money, which by this Invention They have no
“ Means to pay : And for the future, let the Ne-
“ cessities be what they will that the Crown may be
“ involved in, there is no Hope of borrowing any
“ Money, since it is not in the Power of the King
“ himself to make any Assignment upon this new
“ Imposition.”

VERY

VERY much of this had been so absolutely unthought of by the King, that He was very much troubled at it; and He had in his own Judgment a just Esteem of the Bankers, and looked upon any Prejudice that They should suffer as hurtful to himself, and a great Violation of his Honour and Justice. But it was plain enough that the principal Design of the Contrivers was to prejudice the Bankers, nor did They care what Ruin befell them, and so talked loosely and bitterly “of their cozening the King, “and what ill Bargains had been made with them;” though it was made manifest, that no private Gentleman in *England* did upon any real or personal Security borrow Money, but considering the Brocage He pays, and the often renewing his Security, it costs him yearly much more than the King paid to the Bankers.

THEY slighted what was past as sufficiently provided for; and for the future confidently undertook the King should never more have Need of the Bankers, “for that this Act would be no sooner passed, “but upon the Credit of it Money would be poured “into the Exchequer faster than it could be told.” And when They were told, “that Expectation would “deceive them, and that great Sums would not “come in, and small Sums would do Hurt, because they would but stop up the Security from “giving Satisfaction to others, because whatever “was first paid in must be first paid:” All this was answered confidently, “that vast Sums were “ready to their Knowledge to be paid in as soon “as the Bill should pass;” which fell out as was foretold. For after ten or twenty thousand Pounds were delivered in by themselves and their Friends to save their Credit, there was no more Money like to come; and that Sum did more Harm than Good, by interrupting the Security.

BUT notwithstanding all their Answers, the King remained unsatisfied in many Particulars which He
had

had not foreseen, and wished "that the Matter had
 "been better consulted;" and confessed "that *Down-
 "ning* had not answered many of the Objections;"
 and wished "that Alterations might be prepared
 "to be offered in the House of Peers as Amend-
 "ments, and transmitted to the Commons, without
 321) "casting out the *Proviso*;" the Foundation and End
 of which still pleased him for those Reasons which
 He would not communicate, and for which only it
 ought to have been rejected. But as it had been
 very easy to have had it quite left out, which was
 the only proper Remedy; so the mending it would
 leave much Argument for Debate, and would spend
 much Time. And it was to be apprehended, that
 there were so many of the best affected Members of
 the House of Commons gone out of the Town as
 having no more to do, that when it should be sent
 down thither again, it might be longer delayed there
 than would be convenient for the Publick; and so
 the Parliament be kept longer from a Prorogation,
 than would be grateful to them or agreeable to the
 King.

AND therefore upon the whole Matter his Majesty *It is passed by
 the Lords.* chose that no Interruption should be given to it in
 the House of Peers, and only such small Amend-
 ments, which would be as soon consented to in Both
 Houses as read, should be offered, rather than run
 the other Hazard of Delay: And so accordingly it was *The Parlia-
 ment pro-
 rogued.* passed; and upon the doing thereof, the Parliament
 was prorogued to *April* following.

IN this Debate, upon the insolent Behaviour of *The King
 Downing* in the Defence of that which could not be *much offended
 with the
 Chancellor in
 this Affair.* defended, and it may be out of the Extremity of the
 Pain which at that Time He endured in his Bed,
 the Chancellor had given some very sharp Repre-
 hensions to *Downing*, for his Presumption in under-
 taking to set such a Design on Foot that concerned
 the whole Fabrick of the Exchequer (in which He
 was an inferior Officer), and such a Branch of the
 Vol. II. F King's

King's Revenue, without first communicating it to his superiour Officers and receiving their Advice; and told him, "that it was impossible for the King
 "to be well served, whilst Fellows of his Condition
 "were admitted to speak as much as They had a
 "Mind to; and that in the best Times such Presump-
 "tions had been punished with Imprisonment
 "by the Lords of the Council, without the King's
 "taking Notice of it:" Which, with what Sharpness
 soever uttered (in which He naturally exceeded in such Occasions), in a Case of this Nature, in which with Reference to any Disrespect towards himself He was not concerned, He thought did not exceed the Privilege and Dignity of the Place He held; and for which there were many Precedents in the past Times.

At the present there was no Notice taken, nor Reply made to what He said. But They who knew themselves equally guilty, and believed They were reflected upon, found quickly Opportunity to incense the King, and to persuade him to believe, "that the
 "Chancellor's Behaviour was a greater Affront to
 "him than to *Downing*: That a Servant should undergo such Reproaches in the King's own Presence,
 "for no other Reason but having with all Humility
 "presented an Information to his Majesty, which
 "was natural for him to understand in the Office
 "in which He served him, and afterwards followed
 "and observed the Orders and Directions which
 "himself had prescribed; that this must terrify all
 "Men from giving the King any Light in his Affairs, that He may know Nothing of his own
 "nearest Concernments but what his chief Ministers
 "thought fit to impart to him." All which, and whatsoever else was natural to Wit sharpened with Malice to suggest upon such an Argument, They enforced with Warmth that They desired might be taken for Zeal for his Service and Dignity, which
 was

was prostituted by those Presumptions of the Chancellor.

AND herewith They so inflamed the King that He was much offended, and expressed to them such a Dislike that pleased them well, and gave them Opportunity to add more Fewel to the Fire; and told ²²⁾ them, "that the Chancellor should find that He was "not pleased," as indeed He did by a greater Reservedness in his Countenance than his Majesty used to carry towards him; the Reason whereof his Innocence kept him from comprehending, till in a short Time He vouchsafed plainly to put him in Mind of his Behaviour at that Time, and to express a great Resentment of it, and urged all those Glosses which had been made to him upon it, and "what Interpretation all Men must make of such an Action, and "be terrified by it from offering any Thing, of what "Importance soever to his Service, if it would offend "his Ministers;" and all this in a Choler very unnatural to him, which exceedingly troubled the Chancellor, and made him more discern, though He had Evidence enough of it before, that He stood upon very slippery Ground.

He told his Majesty, "that since He thought his *The Chancellor*
 "Behaviour to be so bad in that Particular, for *lor satisfies his*
 "which till then his own Conscience or Discretion *Majesty.*
 "had not reproached him, He must and did believe
 "He had committed a great Fault, for which He
 "did humbly ask his Pardon; and promised here-
 "after no more to incur his Displeasure for such Ex-
 "cesses, which He could never have fallen into at
 "that Time and upon that Occasion, but upon the
 "Presumption, that it had been impossible for his
 "Majesty to have made that Interpretation of it
 "which it seems He had done, or that any Body
 "could have Credit enough with him to persuade
 "him to believe, that He desired that his Majesty
 "should not have a clear View, and the most dis-
 "cerning Insight, into the darkest and most intri-
 "cate

“cate Parts of all his Affairs, which They knew in
 “their Consciences to be most untrue. And He must
 “with great Confidence appeal to his Majesty, who
 “knew how much He had desired, and taken some
 “Pains, that his Majesty might never set his Hand
 “to any Thing, before He fully understood it upon
 “such References and Reports, as, according to the
 “Nature of the Business, were to be for his full In-
 “formation.”

HE besought him to remember “how often He
 “had told him, *that it was most absolutely necessary*
 “*that He should make himself entirely Master of his*
 “*own Business, for that there would be no Acquiescence*
 “*in any Judgment but his own; and that his Majesty*
 “knew with what Boldness He had often lamented
 “to himself, *that He would not take the Pains per-*
 “*fectly to understand all his own Affairs, which exposed*
 “*his Ministers to the Censures of half-witted Men, and*
 “*was the greatest Discouragement to all who served*
 “*him honestly*: And He desired his Pardon again for
 “saying that. He would hereafter find that They
 “who had advised him in this late Transaction, in
 “the handling whereof He had taken the Liberty
 “that had offended his Majesty, had but a very dim
 “Insight into that Business which They took upon
 “themselves to direct.”

BUT his Majesty was not willing to enter again
 into that Discourse, and concluded with forbidding
 him to believe, “that it was or could be in any
 “Mens Power to make him suspect his Affection or
 “Integrity to his Service,” and used many other very
 gracious Expressions to him, nor ever after seemed to
 remember that Action to his Prejudice. But with-
 in a short Time the Bishoprick of *Salisbury* becoming
 void by the never enough lamented Death of Dr.
Earle, his Majesty conferred that Bishoprick upon
 Dr. *Hyde*, the Dean of *Winchester*, upon the Chan-
 cellor’s Recommendation, whose near Kinsman He
 was. Nor was his Credit with the King thought

to be lessened by any Body but himself, who knew more to that Purpose than other People could do : Yet He judged more from the Credit that He found his Enemies got every Day, than from the King's withdrawing his Trust and Kindness from him ; nor did the King believe that They had then that Design against him, which shortly after They did not dissemble.

THE Purpose of making the Alteration in the Government of the Treasury was pursued very industriously. And since that *Proviso* with all the Circumstances thereof had not produced the Effect They proposed, for They had believed that the Indignity of the Affront would have wrought so far upon the great Heart of the Treasurer, that He would thereupon have given up his Staff ; which He was too much inclined to have done, if He had not been prevailed with by those who He knew were his Friends, not to gratify those who desired him out of their Way, in doing that which They of all Things wished : Therefore that Plot not succeeding, They persuaded the King to try another Expedient. For They all knew, that it was too envious a Thing for his Majesty himself to remove him from his Office by any Act of his, and that it would be loudly imputed to them. But if He could be himself persuaded to quit that which every Body knew He was weary of, it would prevent all Inconveniences : And They had been told that the Chancellor only had dissuaded him from doing it, which He would not presume to do, if He were clearly told that the King desired that He should give it up.

HEREUPON the King one Day called the Chancellor to him, and told him, " that He must speak with him in a Business of great Confidence, and which required great Secrecy ;" and then enlarged in a great Commendation of the Treasurer (whom in Truth He did very much esteem), " of his great Parts of Judgment, of his unquestionable Integrity,

“ and of his general Interest and Reputation through-
 “ out the Kingdom. But with all this,” He said,
 “ He was not fit for the Office He held : That He
 “ did not understand the Mystery of that Place, nor
 “ could in his Nature go through with the necessary
 “ Obligations of it. That his bodily Infirmities were
 “ such, that many Times He could not be spoken
 “ with for two or three Days, so that there could
 “ be no Dispatch ; of which every Body complained,
 “ and by which his Business suffered very much.
 “ That all Men knew that all the Business was done
 “ by Sir *Philip Warwick*, whom, though He was a
 “ very honest Man, He did not think fit to be
 “ Treasurer ; which He was to all Effects, the Trea-
 “ surer himself doing Nothing but signing the Papers
 “ which the other prepared for him, which was nei-
 “ ther for the King’s Honour nor his.” The Truth
 was, that his Understanding was too fine for such
 gross Matters as that Office must be conversant about,
 and that if his Want of Health did not hinder him,
 his Genius did not carry him that Way ; nor would
 the Laziness of his Nature permit him to take that
 Pains, that was absolutely necessary for the well dis-
 charging that great Office.

His Majesty concluded, “ that He loved him too
 “ well to disoblige him, and would never do any
 “ Thing that would not be grateful to him : But
 “ He had some Reason, even from what He had
 “ sometimes said to him, to think that He was weary
 “ of it, and might be easily persuaded to deliver
 “ up his Staff, which his Majesty would be very
 “ glad of ; and therefore He wished that He, the
 “ Chancellor, who was known to have most Interest
 “ in him, would persuade him to it, in which He
 “ would do his Majesty a singular Service.”

*The King
 wishes the
 Chancellor to
 advise him
 to it.*

THE Chancellor presently asked him, “ if He were
 “ so unfit, whom He would make Treasurer in his
 “ Room.” The King as presently answered, “ that
 “ He would never make another Treasurer, which
 “ was

(324) “ was an Office of great Charge, and would be much
 “ more effectually executed by Commissioners; which
 “ had been done in *Cromwell's* Time, as many Offices
 “ had been: And that his Majesty found by Expe-
 “ rience, that in Offices of that Kind Commissioners
 “ were better than single Officers; for though Sir
 “ *William Compton* was a very extraordinary Man, of
 “ great Industry and Fidelity, yet that the Office of
 “ the Ordnance was neither in so good Order nor so
 “ thriftily managed whilst He was Master of it, as it
 “ hath been since his Death, since when it hath been
 “ governed by Commissioners; and so He was well
 “ assured his Treasury would be.”

THE Chancellor replied, “ that He was very sorry
 “ to find his Majesty so much inclined to Com-
 “ missioners, who were indeed fittest to execute all
 “ Offices according to the Model of a Commonwealth,
 “ but not at all agreeable to Monarchy: That if He
 “ thought the Precedent of *Cromwell's* Time fit to be
 “ followed, He should be in the Posture that *Crom-*
 “ *well* was, with an Army of one hundred thousand
 “ Men, which made him have no Need of the Au-
 “ thority and Reputation of a Treasurer, either to
 “ settle his Revenue or to direct the levying it; He
 “ could do Both best himself.” But He very passion-
 “ ately besought his Majesty to believe, “ That They
 “ who advised him to this Method of Government,
 “ though They might have good Affection to his
 “ Person and his Service, were very unskilful in the
 “ Constitution of this Kingdom and in the Nature of
 “ the People. That the Office of Treasurer had
 “ sometimes upon the Death of a present Officer been
 “ executed by Commissioners, but very seldom for
 “ any Time, or longer than whilst the King could
 “ deliberately make Choice of a fit Minister. That
 “ himself had been twice a Commissioner for the
 “ Treasury, once in the Time of his Father, and
 “ again upon his Majesty's Return: And therefore
 “ that He could upon Experience assure him, that

F 4

“ Com-

“Commissioners, in so active a Time as this, could
 “never discharge the Duty of that Office; and that
 “the Dignity of the Person of the Treasurer was most
 “necessary for his Service, both towards the procur-
 “ing the raising of Money in Parliament, and the
 “improving his Revenue by the Grant of Additions
 “there, as likewise for the collecting and conducting
 “it afterwards. For the present Treasurer,” He said,
 “there was no Question but if He knew that his
 “Majesty was weary of his Service, and wished to
 “have the Staff out of his Hand, He would most
 “readily deliver it: But that They who gave the
 “Counsel, and thought it fit for his Majesty’s Ser-
 “vice, were much fitter to give him that Advertise-
 “ment, than He who in his Conscience did believe,
 “that the following it would be of the most pernicious
 “Consequence to his Service of any Thing that could
 “be done.”

*The Chancel-
 ler earnestly
 petitions him
 against this
 Measure.*

He most humbly and with much Earnestness be-
 sought his Majesty “seriously to reflect, what an ill
 “Savour it would have over the whole Kingdom,
 “at this Time of a War with at least two powerful
 “Enemies abroad together, of so great Discontent
 “and Jealousy at Home, and when the Court was
 “in no great Reputation with the People, to re-
 “move a Person the most loved and revered by
 “the People for his most exemplary Fidelity and
 “Wisdom, who had deserved as much from his
 “blessed Father and himself as a Subject can do
 “from his Prince, a Nobleman of the best Quality,
 “the best allied and the best beloved; to remove
 “at such a Time such a Person and with such Cir-
 “cumstances from his Councils and his Trust: For
 “Nobody could imagine, that, after such a Ma-
 “nifestation of his Majesty’s Displeasure, He would
 “be again conversant in the Court or in the Council,
 “Both which would be much less esteemed upon
 “such an Action. That many with the same Dis-
 “eases and Infirmities had long executed that Office,
 “which

(325) “ which required more the Strength of the Mind than
 “ of the Body : All were obliged to attend him, and
 “ He only to wait upon his Majesty.”

“ THAT it was impossible for any Man to discharge
 “ that Office without a Secretary : And if the whole
 “ Kingdom had been to have preferred a Secretary to
 “ him, They would have commended this Gentle-
 “ man to him whom He trusted, who had for many
 “ Years served a former Treasurer in the same Trust,
 “ in the most malignant, captious and calumniating
 “ Time that hath been known, and yet without the
 “ least Blemish or Imputation ; and who, ever since
 “ that Time, had served his Father in and to the
 “ End of the War, and himself since in the most
 “ secret and dangerous Affairs” (for He had been
 “ trusted by the Persons of the greatest Quality to hold
 “ Intelligence with his Majesty to the Time of his Re-
 “ turn) ; “ so that all Men rather expected to have
 “ found him preferred to some good Place, than in
 “ the same Post He had been in twenty Years before ;
 “ which He would never have undertaken under any
 “ other Officer than one with whom He had much
 “ Confidence, and who He knew would serve his
 “ Majesty so well. Yet,” He said, “ that whoever
 “ knew them could never believe that Sir *Philip War-*
 “ *wick* could govern the Lord Treasurer.”

THE King said, “ He had a very good Opinion of
 “ Sir *Philip Warwick*, and had never heard any Thing
 “ to his Prejudice.” But upon the main Point of
 “ the Debate He seemed rather moved and troubled
 “ than convinced, when by good Fortune the Duke of
 “ *York* came into the Room, who had been well pre-
 “ pared to like the King’s Purpose and to believe it
 “ necessary ; and therefore his Majesty was glad of his
 “ Presence, and called him to him, and told him what
 “ He had been speaking of ; and the Chancellor in-
 “ formed him of all that had passed between the King
 “ and him, and told him, “ that He could never do a
 “ better Service to the King his Brother, than by
 “ using

“ using his Credit with him to restrain him from prosecuting a Purpose that would prove so mischievous to him.” And so the Discourse was renewed: And in the End the Duke was so entirely converted, that He prevailed with his Majesty to lay aside the Thought of it; which so broke all the Measures the other Contrivers had formed their Counsels by, that They were much out of Countenance. But finding that They could not work upon the Duke to change his Mind, and to return to the former Resolution, They thought not fit to press the King farther for the present; and only made so much Use of their Want of Success, by presenting to his Majesty his Irresoluteness, which made the Chancellor still impose upon him, that the King did not think the better of the Chancellor or the Treasurer, for his receding at that Time from prosecuting what He had so positively resolved to have done, and promised them “ to be firmer to his next Determination.”

*And at length
prevails.*

AFTER *Christmas* the Rage and Fury of the Pestilence began in some Degree to be mitigated, but so little, that Nobody who had left the Town had yet the Courage to return thither: Nor had They Reason; for though it was a considerable Abatement from the Height it had been at, yet there died still between three and four thousand in the Week, and of those, some Men of better Condition than had fallen before. The General writ from thence, “ that there still arose new Difficulties in providing for the setting out the Fleet, “ and some of such a Nature, that He could not easily “ remove them without Communication with his Majesty, and receiving his more positive Directions; “ and how to bring that to pass He knew not, for as “ He could by no Means advise his Majesty to leave “ *Oxford*, so He found many Objections against his “ own being absent from *London*.” *Windsor* was thought upon as a Place where the King might safely reside, there being then no Infection there: But the King had adjourned the Term thither, which had⁽³²⁶⁾ possessed

possessed the whole Town; and He was not without some Apprehension, that the Plague had got into one House.

IN the End, towards the End of *February*, the King resolved that the Queen and Dutches and all their Families should remain in *Oxford*; and that his Majesty and his Brother, with Prince *Rupert*, and such of his Council and other Servants as were thought necessary or fit, would make a quick Journey to *Hampton-Court*, where the General might be every Day and return again to *London* at Night, and his Majesty give such Orders as were requisite for the carrying on his Service, and so after two or three Days Stay there return again to *Oxford*; for no Man did believe it counsellable, that his Majesty should reside longer there, than the Dispatch of the most important Business required: And with this Resolution his Majesty made his Journey to *Hampton-Court*. The King removes from Oxford to Hampton-Court.

IT pleased God, that the next Week after his Majesty came thither, the Number of those who died of the Plague in the City decreased one thousand; and there was a strange universal Joy there for the King's being so near. The Weather was as it could be wished, deep Snow and terrible Frost, which very probably stopped the spreading of the Infection, though it might put an End to those who were already infected, as it did, for in a Week or two the Number of the Dead was very little diminished. The General came and went as was intended: But the Business every Day increased; and his Majesty's Remove to a farther Distance was thought inconvenient, since there appeared no Danger in remaining where He was. The Plague decreases.

AND after a Fortnight's or three Weeks Stay, He resolved, for the quicker Dispatch of all that was to be done, to go to *Whitehall*, when there died above fifteen hundred in the Week, and when there was not in a Day seen a Coach in the Streets, but those which came in his Majesty's Train; so much all Men were terrified from returning to a Place of so much Mortality. The King returns to Whitehall.

Yet it can hardly be imagined, what Numbers flocked thither from all Parts upon the Fame of the King's being at *Whitehall*, all Men being ashamed of their Fears for their own Safety, when the King ventured his Person. The Judges at *Windsor* adjourned the last Return of the Term to *Westminster-Hall*, and the Town every Day filled marvellously; and which was more wonderful, the Plague every Day decreased. Upon which the King changed his Purpose, and instead of returning to *Oxford*, sent for the Queen and all the Family to come to *Whitehall*: So that before the End of *March* the Streets were as full, the *Exchange* as much crowded, and the People in all Places as numerous, as They had ever been seen, few Persons missing any of their Acquaintance, though by the weekly Bills there appeared to have died above one hundred and threescore thousand Persons: And many, who could compute very well, concluded that there were in Truth double that Number who died; and that in one Week, when the Bill mentioned only six thousand, there had in Truth fourteen thousand died. The frequent Deaths of the Clerks and Sextons of Parishes hindered the exact Account of every Week; but that which left it without any Certainty was the vast Number that was buried in the Fields, of which no Account was kept. Then of the *Anabaptists* and other Sectaries, who abounded in the City, very few left their Habitations; and Multitudes of them died, whereof no Church-warden or other Officer had Notice; but They found Burials, according to their own Fancies, in small Gardens or the next Fields. The greatest Number of those who died consisted of Women and Children, and the lowest and poorest Sort of the People: So that, as I said before, few Men missed any of their Acquaintance when They returned, not many of Wealth or Quality or of much Conversation being dead; yet some of either Sort there were. ⁽³²⁷⁾

*Preparations
for setting out
the Fleet again*

THE Business of the King and of all about him was, that the Fleet might be ready and at Sea with all the possible

possible Expedition: And in or towards this there was less Disturbance and Interruption than could reasonably have been expected, an universal Chearfulness appearing in all who could obstruct or contribute towards it, the People generally being abundantly satisfied in the King's Choice of the Commanders. Prince *Rupert* was very much beloved, for his confessed Courage, by the Seamen; and the People believed that They could not but have the Victory where the General commanded, who only underwent Unquietness and Vexation from the tempestuous Humour of his Wife, She, from his Return from *Oxford*, and from the Time that She had the first Intimation that the King had designed her Husband for the Command of the Fleet, was all Storm and Fury; and, according to the Wisdom and Modesty of her Nature, poured out a thousand full-mouthed Curses against all those who had contributed to that Counsel: But the Malice of all that Tempest fell upon the Chancellor. She declared, "that this was a Plot of his to remove her Husband from the King, that He might do what He had a Mind to;" and threw all the ill Words at him which She had been accustomed to hear, accompanied with her good Wishes of what She would have befall him. But the Company She kept, and the Conversation She was accustomed to, could not propagate the Reproaches far; and the poor General himself felt them most, who knew the Chancellor to be his very fast and faithful Friend, and that He would not be less so because his Wife was no wiser than She was born to be. He was indefatigable in taking Pains Night and Day, that the Fleet might be at Sea.

THE Duke of *Beaufort*, Admiral of *France*, was already gone to *Brest*, and had taken Leave of the King at *Paris*, whither He was not to return till after the Summer's Service at Sea, and had appointed a Rendezvous of all the Ships to be at *Brest* by the Middle of *March*, which They reported should consist of fifty Ships of War.

The French
Fleet prepared

Denmark
joins the
Dutch.

THE Rupture was declared on Both Sides with *Denmark*. That King had appeared much troubled at the ill Accident at *Bergen*, which had fallen out merely by the Accidents of Weather, which had hindered the positive Orders from arriving in the precise Time: And He seemed still resolved to detain the *Dutch Ships* there, and only to fear the Conjunction of the *Swede* with the *Hollander*, which the King's Agent, Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, assured him He need not to fear. Which the better to confirm, Mr. *Clifford*, who had been present at *Bergen*, and is before mentioned to be sent after that by the King to *Denmark*, went from thence into *Sweden* (where Mr. *Coventry* yet remained) with a Project of such a Treaty as would have been with little Alterations consented to in *Sweden*, who had good Inclinations to the King, and resolved to join with the Bishop of *Munster*, when He should advance according to his Engagement. But the *Danish* Resident in *Sweden* delayed to conclude, and pretended to have received less positive Orders than the Nature of the Affair required, and that He expected fuller: And so all Matters were deferred, till Ambassadors came from *Holland* with no Expostulations, and a Desire to renew their Alliance, and release some Engagements They had upon the *Sound*, which had been very grievous to the *Dane*; and many other Conditions were granted which were very convenient to them. An Ambassador likewise arrived in the Nick of Time from *France*, to dispose them to a Conjunction with *Holland*, and to warrant the Performance of whatsoever the *Hollander* should promise, and likewise to undertake that *France* ⁽³²⁸⁾ would protect them against *England*, and therefore that They should not apprehend any Danger from a War from thence; and *De Ruyter* was now gone with the Fleet for *Bergen*.

UPON all these Motives concurring in the same Conjunction, the poor King embraced that Party; and then declared and complained, "that the *English* had broken the Law of Nations in violating the Peace
" of

“ of his Ports, and endeavouring to fire his Town,
 “ when they were hospitably received and treated there
 “ under the Protection of his Castle.” He denied that
 He had ever made such an Offer or Promise as Sir *Gilbert Talbot* still charged him with, and which He had not denied to Mr. *Clifford* when He came first thither. But now He reproached Sir *Gilbert Talbot* “ for falsifying his Words, at least for mistaking them, and
 “ sending that to the King his Master which He gave
 “ him no Liberty to do.” And now Sir *Gilbert* found his Errour in not having drawn from him or his Servant *Gabell*, in Writing, some Evidence of the Engagement: But after many Indignities He left the Court and returned to *England*. All *English* Ships in *Denmark* or *Norway* were seized upon; and the Persons of all Merchants and others who were his Majesty’s Subjects, and to some of whom the King of *Denmark* owed great Sums of Money which They had lent to him, were imprisoned, and their Goods seized and confiscated.

ALL which Proceedings provoked the King to give the like Orders, and to look upon them as Enemies, and to emit a Declaration of the Motive He had to send his Fleet to *Bergen*, “ which He could never have
 “ done but upon the Invitation and Promise of that
 “ King; which was evident enough by the Reception
 “ his Ships had there, and Expectation the Governour
 “ had of their Arrival, and his Allegation, *that He
 “ expected that very Night fuller Orders than He had yet
 “ received*; and lastly, his suffering them to depart securely, after all the Acts of Hostility had passed in
 “ the Port.” Much of this was denied with many indecent Expressions, and such Evasions as made all that was said believed by equal Considerers: And so the War was declared.

AND then in the Beginning of the Year 1666, a Year long destined by all Astrologers for the Production of dismal Changes and Alterations, throughout the World, and by some for the End of it, the King found
 his

his Condition so much worse than it had been the last Year, as the Addition of *France* and *Denmark* could make it; against all which, and the Prodigies which the Year was to produce (and it did truly produce many), the King prepared with his accustomed Vigour and Resolution, though the Predictions had a strange Operation upon vulgar Minds.

*Negotiations
of the French
at this Time.*

THE Proclamation of the War in *France*, and the Seizure upon the Estates of the *English* with some Circumstances in the Point of Time, and other Actions very unjust and unusual, the great maritime Preparations there, and the visible Assistance of Force that was sent thence to the *Dutch*, did not trouble nor hurt the King so much as the secret and invisible Negotiations of that Crown. From the first Declaration of the Bishop of *Munster* of his Resolution to make a War upon *Holland* (with which He acquainted the King of *France* before He declared it, and received such an Answer that made him very confident (as hath been remembered before upon his first Address to the King of *Great Britain*) that He should meet with no Obstruction from thence; and upon that Confidence the Treaty was concluded with the King, and great Sums of Money paid to the Bishop upon his Promise and Engagement, “that He would fix himself with his Army within the (329)

*They deter the
neighbouring
States from
assisting the
Bishop of
Munster.*

of the *Dutch*, secretly sent to the neighbour Princes “not to join with the Bishop, and to do all that was “in their Power to hinder his Levies;” and prevailed with the Elector of *Brandenburg*, who had given

Hopes

Hopes to the Bishop of a powerful Assistance upon the Expectation of the Restoration of *Wesel*, and other Towns then possessed by *Holland*, totally to decline any Conjunction with him, upon Promise "that He should find his own Account better from the Friendship of *France*." The Dukes of *Lunenburg*, who had made the Bishop believe that They would join with him, and had made Levies of Soldiers to that Purpose, having abundant Argument of Quarrel with *Holland*, were now persuaded by the same Way not only to desist from helping, but to declare themselves Enemies to the Bishop if He would not desist, and "that They would serve the *Dutch* with their Forces."

WHEN all this could not discourage the Bishop from prosecuting his Intention, but that He still gathered Troops, and gave new Commissions to Officers who had prepared for their Levies farther in *Germany*; the King of *France* sent an Envoy expressly to the Bishop himself, and offered his Mediation and Interposition with the *Dutch*, "that They should do him all the Right that in Justice He could demand from them, and if this were not accepted by him, that He must expect what Prejudice the Arms of *France* could bring upon him;" and then sent to all those Princes who had permitted Levies to be made in their Countries, "that They should not suffer those Troops to march out of their Country," but offered "to receive and entertain them in his own Army." With this He sent to the other Princes of *Germany* and to the Emperour himself, "that if They did not prevent this Incurfion of the Bishop of *Munster*" (to which They all wished well), "They would involve the Empire in a War."

WHEN all this could not terrify the Bishop, who defended himself by his Engagement to the King of *Great Britain*, "that He would not enter into Treaty nor give over his Enterprize without his Consent," and drew his Forces together to a Rendezvous, and had got Permission from the Marquis of *Castelle Rode-*

rigo, then Governour of *Flanders*, to make Levies in those Provinces without Noise or avowing it, and marched with his Army into the *States* Dominions, and took a Place or two even in the Sight of Prince *Maurice* (who drew as many of the *States* Troops together as could be spared out of their Garrisons, but thought not fit to engage with them, after He had found in some light Skirmishes that They were not firm); so that the Bishop, by the Advantage of the Situation of which He was possessed, began to fasten himself in full Assurance of increasing his Army, in Spite of all Discouragements, before the Spring (and He had already received some Troops out of *Flanders*, and Advancement from other of his Officers, that They were well advanced in their Levies): The King of *France* in this Conjuncture, in the imperious Style He customarily used in those Cases, sent to the Governour of *Flanders* for a Licence for such Troops, as He had Occasion to send into *Germany*, to pass through such a Part of his Government; which as He had no Mind to grant, so He durst not deny, having Orders from *Spain* to be very careful, that no Disgusts might be given to *France* which might give any Occasion, or Pretence, or Opportunity for a Breach, which They well knew was desired and longed for. (330)

UPON this Permission the *French* Troops marched into *Flanders*: And in the first Place, whether in their Way or out of their Way, They fell upon the Levies which were made for the Bishop, and routed and dispersed them, or took them Prisoners. In one Place, by the Strength of their Quarter and a neighbour Church, They defended themselves, imagining the Country would relieve them, without suspecting that They had Licence and Permission to march through: But They were so much inferiour in Number or Strength, that after some of them were killed, the rest were glad to throw down their Arms and become Prisoners at Mercy, the Officers not comprehending what declared Enemy could fall upon them in those Quarters.

ters. With this Triumph They marched, and joined with Prince *Maurice* by the Time the Bishop had Notice of the Disaster, and speedily advanced upon his Quarters, and beat some of his Troops.

UPON which the poor Bishop (who instead of the Supplies and Commissions and other Countenance that He had Reason to expect from those Princes, who had been privy and with great Promises encouraged his Enterprize, received every Day Arguments from them against his proceeding farther, with many Conjurations that He would entirely submit to the King of *France* his Determination) found himself necessitated to comply, and even heartbroken signed a Treaty with the *French*, who then were careful enough both of his Honour and Interest in the Conditions with the *Dutch*, as for an Ally of whom They meant to make more Use in another Conjunction. Upon all which the Bishop had been much more excusable, if He had not received some of the King's Money, even after He saw that He should be obliged to sign the Treaty; which He ought not to have done, though it had been due, and it may be expended, before He had any such Intention, and to which it cannot be denied He had most forcible Compulsions.

THIS was the most sensible Blow, but the Plague, that the King had felt from the Beginning of the War, and was Instance enough how terrible the King of *France* was to all the neighbour Kings and Princes, who had so suddenly departed from their own Inclinations and Resolutions and from their own Interest, only upon his Insinuations, which became Orders to them. And *Spain*, if They knew that which all the World besides discerned, could not but believe that *France* would break all Treaties as soon as the other King should die, the News of which was expected and provided for every Week. But the drowsy Temper of that Monarch, who had been so much disquieted throughout his whole Reign, extended so far only as to prepare a Stock of Peace that would last during his own Time, that He saw

would be very short, and to leave his Dominions and his infant Son to shift for themselves when He was dead: And it was an unhappy Maxim of that State, that it was the best Husbandry to purchase present Peace and present Money at how dear Interest soever for the future, which would be assisted with some new Expedients, as *Spain* had always been.

The King desirous of uniting with Holland against France

All these Disadvantages made the King the more solicitous to have but one Enemy to struggle with, though it were *France*: And therefore He was very solicitous by all Ways He could devise to make Peace with *Holland*, and to leave *Denmark* to their own Inventions; and He had some Encouragement to believe, that it was not impossible to separate *Holland* from *France*. They were sensible enough, that They had been upon the Matter betrayed into the War, by the positive Promise of Assistance, and a firm Conjunction from *France* in the Instant that the War should be entered upon, without any Mention of Mediation or Interposition for Peace, which was against their Desire; and that They had looked on very unconcernedly, or rather well pleased to see them beaten, and their own People ready to rise against the Government. Then They knew that *France* did already provide for an Expedition against *Flanders*, which could not long defend itself with its own Forces; and that They depended upon this War between *England* and the *Dutch*, as what must hinder Both those Nations from giving it Assistance: And They as well knew what their own Portion must be, when that Screen was removed, that was their best Security against so mighty a Neighbour. And this *De Wit* himself, who was the chief Supporter of the War, frequently observed and confessed to those with whom He had most Conversation, and in whom He was believed to have most Trust: And all those Advertisements were transmitted to the King by those whose Integrity could not be suspected, and who did not dissemble being of the *States* themselves, to be very desirous of Peace and very jealous of *France*.

The Dutch jealous of France.

THERE was a Gentleman, one *Monsieur Bewett*, of a good Family in *France* and born there, but long bred in *Holland* whilst the Wars were there, and who had been Captain in the last Prince of *Orange's* Horse-Guards, and in very particular Favour with him, by which He was married to a Woman of *Holland* very rich, and very nearly allied to many of those who had the greatest Influence upon the Government; and who was now looked upon rather as a *Dutchman* than a *Frenchman*, and conversed most familiarly amongst the *Burgomasters*, and other principal Persons of the *States*. And by this Interest, after the Death of the Prince of *Orange*, that Troop was still preserved for a Guard to the *States*, and was the only Horse-Troop that remained constantly in the *Hague*. And for the better pleasing the People, it was still called the Prince of *Orange's* Guard, and continued to wear the same Livery it had always done: And the young Prince took much Delight to see them, and to hear himself called by them their Captain; and the Commander thereof, *Bewett*, professed and paid the same Devotion to him that He had done to his Father.

THIS Gentleman was generally beloved, and held a Man of great Sincerity, brave in Point of Courage, and of good Parts of Wit and Judgment, save that He was immoderately given to Wine and to the Excess of it, which, being the Disease or rather the Health of the Country, made him not the worse thought of or less fit for Business. He was well known to the King, and well thought of by him, and had great Familiarity with some of the Bedchamber, and others near the King and trusted by him. He had made a Journey once, since the King's Return into *England*, only to kiss his Hand, and profess the same Affection and Duty He had often done when his Majesty was abroad, which had always made him acceptable to him.

HIS HE was a bold Speaker, and from the Time that the War was begun against *England* much inveighed against the Counsel that persuaded it, as very pernicious to the Affairs of that Country; and in this Argu-

ment used not more Freedom with any than with *De Wit* himself, who loved his Person and his Spirit, and conversed very freely with him, though He knew his Friendships were chiefly with the Dependents upon the House of *Orange*, and with others of the *States* who were of his own Opinion with Reference to the War: And the publishing his Opinion drew many of the greatest Interest amongst the *Burgomasters* to delight in his Conversation, and to trust him much. With those He consulted freely what Means should be used to procure a Peace, and prevent the Mischief that must attend the Continuance of the War, with good Sense and Judgment: But those Consultations were always in the Exercise of Drinking, which never ended without the utmost Excess, though without Noise or Disquiet or Unkindness, which are never the Effects of those Excesses amongst that People.

AFTER the first Battle, when the *Dutch* were so much beaten, and the People in that Consternation that They called aloud for Peace, and reviled all those who were thought to be against it, and amongst those *De Wit* principally, who had the more Enemies, and Peace the more Friends, for the Differences which had arisen amongst the Officers of the Fleet upon the Death of *Opdam*, and upon the Disgrace which *Trump* had undergone by the Power and Injustice, as They said, of *De Wit* upon personal Dislikes, and because He was known to have great Affection for the Prince of *Orange* (and *Van Trump* himself, as hath been said, was not only of much Interest amongst the Seamen, but very popular in the Government, and had his Sisters married to *Burgomasters* in some of the greatest Towns; so that the Disgrace of him increased the Number of *De Wit's* Enemies): In this Conjunction *Bewett* cultivated the best He could all those ill Humours, how mutinous soever, which grew most importunate for Peace; yet without any Reflection upon the Person of *De Wit*, with whom He was known by the Company He most kept to have much Familiarity, and whom He did at

His Endeavours to bring about a Peace.

that

that Time really believe to be inclined to Peace, and declared He did think so to those who knew the contrary, yet did not think the worse of him for being deceived, being assured He would never deceive them for Want of Integrity.

BUT He took Advantage of this general Distemper and of the Prejudice the People had against him, to talk very frankly to *De Wit* of Both; and admired, “since He did, as He professed, desire Peace, that He would not find some Way to undeceive the People, which was necessary for his own Security; and it might easily be effected, by giving a Beginning to such a Consultation as might look towards an Accommodation.” *De Wit* had his Spies in all Places, and knew well what Company *Bewett* most delighted in, though his Acquaintance was universal and agreeable to all Men: And He was informed too of his particular Behaviour with Reference to him, and that He did constantly and confidently vindicate him from many Imputations, in the Presence of those who were not pleased with his Contradictions; so that He looked upon him as his Friend, and one that might by his Interest and Credit divert some of that popular Envy and Malice, of which He had no Contempt, but much Apprehension.

HE renewed his former Professions of his Desire of Peace, and gave so good Reasons for it as might naturally gain Belief; amongst which one was always a vehement Jealousy of *France*, “which,” He said, “though it had at last declared War against *England*, which They ought to have done so long before, had done it only to draw *England* into some Conditions which might facilitate their own Enterprize upon *Flanders*, which it concerned them to prevent by all the Ways possible; of which none would be so probable as a Peace between *England* and them, which would immediately make each solicitous for their own Interest. But how to set any Thing on Foot that might contribute to this He knew not;

De Wit pretends to desire a Peace.

“ and the doing that which the other had proposed, by
 “ declaring himself, was the Way only to slacken all (333)
 “ the Provisions for War, the expediting of which
 “ would most advance a Peace.”

Bewett replied, “ that He knew He had many
 “ Friends in the *English* Court, whereof some were of
 “ near Trust about his Majesty, for whose Secrecy He
 “ would be accountable;” and named the Lord *Arlington*, who had lately married a Lady of the *Hague*, the Daughter of *Monsieur Beverwaert*, a Person in his Quality and Fortune in the first Rank. He offered to him, “ that He would himself write such a Letter to
 “ the Lord *Arlington* in his own Name, which He should
 “ first see and approve, without which He would not
 “ send it, as should only testify his own good Wishes
 “ for a Peace between the two Nations, which were
 “ not unknown to the King himself; and would make
 “ no other Mention of him, than that He had Reason
 “ to believe, that *Monsieur De Wit* (in whose good
 “ Opinion He had the Honour to be known to have
 “ some Place) would not be unwilling to promote any
 “ good Overture that should be made.” After some Debate He was content that He should write, provided that He would promise to write Nothing but what He should first see, and would still bring the Answers to him which He should receive; to which the other consented.

Bewett enters
 into a Corre-
 spondence
 with the En-
 glish Court
 with De
 Wit's Consent

UPON this Encouragement He begun his Corre-
 spondence with the Lord *Arlington*, and acquainted his
 Bosom-Friends with it, to dispose them the more to
 hope for Peace, and to look upon *De Wit* as not averse
 to it. But what He writ was with so much Wariness,
 being dictated upon the Matter by the Pensioner, that
 it could draw no other Answers from the Secretary but
 of the same Style, with Expressions of his Majesty's
 Desire of Peace and Esteem of *De Wit*, and as if He
 expected some Overtures to arise from thence. This
 Intelligence had not been long on Foot, but He begun
 to suspect the Sincerity of *De Wit*, and that indeed He

was

He soon sus-
 pects *De Wit*'s
 Sincerity.

was not so well inclined to Peace as He had pretended to be : His Countenance was not so open, nor He so vacant when He came as He used to be ; He grew less jealous of the *French*, and more composed himself, and less apprehensive of the People, as He found them more composed, and a greater Concurrence in the making all Things ready for the Fleet. All which Observations He likewise imparted to his Companions, who were glad to find him begin to be undeceived ; and from that Time He was apter to concur with them in the fiercer Counsels, how to compass a Peace in Spite of him by a Majority of Votes in the *States*, with the Help of the People, for the Suppression of any accidental Insurrection whereof, there were no other Forces in View than those Horse-Guards that were commanded by him.

*And resolves
to get a Peace
in Opposition
to him.*

HEREUPON He took a new Resolution, but would not lose the Advantage He had by the Knowledge *De Wit* had of his Correspondence, and therefore shewed him a Letter that He had received from the Lord *Arlington*, in which He pressed him “ to inform him, “ what Particulars would dispose the *States* to Peace “ and to separate from the *French*,” and had sent him a Cipher for the more free and safe Communication ; which Cipher He deposited in the Hands of *De Wit*, having received his Directions and observed them by using the same Cipher, which the other examined and kept, and hoped by the Answer to put an End to that Correspondence, of which He grew weary, and less confident of the Person, because He heard that He was grown less zealous in his Defence than He had been.

BEWETT upon this grew more resolute one Way and less apprehensive the other Way, and sent a Person with whom He had great Friendship, and who was well known to the King and most about him, *34* *Monsieur Silvius*, a Servant to the late Princess Royal, and a Native of *Orange*, with a full Account “ of the “ State of the Counsels at the *Hague*, and his Disco-
“ very

*He settles a
secret Corre-
spondence with
the English
Court.*

“ very that *De Wit* did not in Truth desire a Peace, “ nor would consent to it but upon very unreasonable “ Terms,” whereof some were mentioned in his Letter in Cipher which He had dictated ; “ but that He was “ most assured, that He should be compelled at the “ next Assembly of the *States* to submit to more reasonable Conditions.” He gave the King an Account of the Ground of his Confidence, and an Information of the Persons who were combined together to press it in the *States*, amongst which there were some of the greatest Power : And by their Advice He offered the Substance of a Message They wished the King should send to the *States General* at the Time of their convening, in which there was Nothing contained against which any Thing could be objected on his Majesty’s Behalf ; and “ upon the Delivery thereof there would “ so few adhere to *De Wit*, that He should not be able “ to prevent a Treaty though *France* should protest “ against it.” He sent likewise at the same Time, and by the same Person, another Cipher to the Lord *Arlington*, with Direction “ that in such Letters as were “ intended for the View of the Pensioner the former “ Cipher should be used, and in the other Letters, “ which were to be concealed from him, and which “ were for the most Part to contain Intelligence and “ Advice against him, the latter Cipher was only to “ be made Use of.”

THOSE Informations by *Silvius*, who was a Man of Parts, and had Dependence upon the Duke of *York*, and meant not to return into *Holland* except upon a pressing Occasion, when He durst adventure to go, being looked upon as an Inhabitant of the *Hague*, having been always bred there, and his Relation to the Duke scarce yet taken Notice of ; I say, those Informations the King thought to be worthy to be well considered, and conferred with the Chancellor upon the Whole, and appointed the Lord *Arlington* to inform him of all that had passed from the Beginning ; and that *Silvius*, who was concealed, that They might have

no Advertisement in *Holland* of his having been in *England*, should likewise attend him in some Evening; which He shortly after did, and made him an ample and clear Relation of the State of the Counsels at the *Hague*, and the several Factions amongst them, and the Distemper of the People. He had himself spoken with many of the *Burgomasters* and others in Authority, who were privy to his Coming, and communicated the Method They meant to proceed in towards the depressing *De Wit*, by mingling the Proposition for Peace with the Interest of the Prince of *Orange*, which the People thought to be inseparable.

IN Fine, He gave a perfect good Account of all to which He was instructed, with great Modesty: And when the Chancellor, to whom *Bewett* and He were Both well known, would have induced him to deliver Somewhat of his own Judgment, whether He thought that Combination to be strong enough to over-rule *De Wit*; He could draw no other Answer from him than the magnifying the Credit and Interest of *Bewett*, which He seemed principally to rely upon, and the Impossibility that He should fail in Point of Integrity or Courage.

SILVIUS had settled a sure Way of Correspondence, and by every Post received fresh Intelligence of the Preparations and Progress *Bewett* and his Friends made in their Designs, of the Success whereof They were every Day more confident, and thought their Party so much to increase, that as They did not apprehend any Discovery like to be made by Treachery, so They did not seem to fear it, if *De Wit* himself should know all that They intended: And They pressed very earnestly, "that the King's Letter, in the Manner They had proposed, might be at the *Hague* when the *General States* were to meet," the Time whereof approached.

THE King called those to him to whom the whole Negotiation had been imparted, to advise what was
to

to be done. On the King's Part Nothing was considerable, but whether He should write to the *States* at all, and what He should write: And against writing there seemed to be no Objection, and as little against writing what They advised, which was no more than He had formerly writ, and always said to their Ambassadors. And that this might be a more favourable Conjunction for the good Reception of it, and hearkening to it, his Majesty was reasonably to believe those who meant to second and promote it with their own Reasons: And therefore the Time and the Manner of the Delivery of it was left to be resolved amongst themselves, the King having no Minister there to present it.

THE Way that They had thought of was, that *Bewett* should at the proper Time deliver it to *De Wit*, who durst not conceal it, and if He should, there would be Ways enough to publish it to his Reproach; nor could He take any Advantage of *Bewett* for his Correspondence with their Enemies, because it had been entered into with his Approbation. But for the better Security in the sending it, and the better Information of the Persons engaged of all the Reflections which had been made by the King, and those with whom He had conferred by his Majesty's Order, it was thought best that *Silvius* should return; and if *Bewett* thought fit to decline the Delivery of the King's Letter, and no better Way could be found for the Delivery of it, He might present it in the Manner his Friends there should direct, and avow his having been at *London* to solicit his own Pretences since the Death of the Princess Royal his Mistress, and that He had received the Letter from the King's own Hand. This being the concurrent Opinion of all, and the Gentleman himself willing to undertake it; *Silvius* was dispatched.

IN the Debate of the Matter, the King asked the Chancellor " what He thought of the Design, and
" whether

“ whether He thought it would succeed ;” who said, “ He doubted it much, and that it would conclude “ in the Loss of poor *Bewett’s* Head, who had not “ a Talent for the Managery of an Affair of that “ Weight, which would require great Secrecy and “ great Sobriety, and the Consideration of more Particulars at once than his Comprehension could contain together.” Then He did not like the Method They propos’d, of joining the Demand of Peace with the Interest of the Prince of *Orange*, which, though it might probably follow the Peace and be an Effect of it, would not be seasonable to be joined with it in Regard of his Infancy ; and that many did heartily desire the Peace, who had no Mind that the Prince should be restored to the Offices of his Father and Family, or that there should be any Debate of it, till the Prince came to the Age that was provided by the solemn Act and Declaration of the *States* : Which had been the Reason that his Majesty (who had all the Tenderness for his Nephew that a Parent could have) would never be perswaded to mention him (though it had been propos’d by many, and even by the Elector of *Brandenburgh* and the Princess Dowager) in the Conditions of the Peace ; the King foreseeing that *De Wit* would have been glad to have that Advantage, as to observe to the People, that the King would prescribe to them what Officers They should choose and admit into their Government, and that They must have no Peace, except They would take a General and a
 336) Stadtholder and an Admiral of his Nomination, which was to make them subject to himself.

AND this was the Reason, that in all Conferences with the *French* Ambassadors, who sometimes would mention the Prince of *Orange* with Compassion for the Ingratitude of the *States* towards him, and add, “ that They doubted not their Master would be ready “ to join with his Majesty in doing him all Offices ;” and sometimes when the *Dutch* Ambassador (who

was

was of that Party that did really wish the Restoration of the Prince) in Conference would seem to wish and to believe, that the restoring the Prince of *Orange* would be the Consequence of the Peace: The King never gave other Answer, than "that He should be very glad that the *States* would gratify his Nephew; but that it was a Matter He had Nothing to do to interpose in, it depending wholly upon their own Good-Will and Pleasure.

THE rest who were present had much more Esteem of *Bewett* than the Chancellor had (who thought as well of his Courage and Integrity as They did), and believed He would have Success in what He designed, his Interest in the Right of his Wife being confessedly very great amongst the *States*, and his jolly Course of Living having rendered him very acceptable and grateful to Men of the most different Affections; and then of all the Officers of the Militia He was most esteemed, which was like to be of Moment if the Dispute brought the Matter to a Struggle: But the Event shewed the Contrary.

AFTER *Silvius's* Departure, Letters passed between them, as they had used to do, for two or three Posts. And *Bewett* one Day meeting *De Wit* when He came from his good Fellows, and They walking a Turn together in common Discourse, *De Wit* asked him, "when He had any Letter from *England*, and how Affairs went there:" To which He suddenly answered, "that He came just then from receiving one, which He had not yet deciphered," and put his Hand into his Pocket, and took thence a Letter; and casting his Eyes (which were never good, and now worse by the Company He had left) upon the Superscription, He gave it to him, and said, "He would go with him that They might decipher it together according to Custom."

Bewett's secret Correspondence accidentally discovered by De Wit.

DE WIT presently found that it was not the accustomed Cipher (for He had delivered the wrong Letter, that which He ought not to see), and desired

fired him “ that He would walk before, and He “ would presently overtake him, after He had spoken “ a few Words at a House in his Way.” And so leaving him, He took present Order for the apprehending him and searching his Pockets; and at the same Time sent to his House, and caused his Cabinet, where all his Papers were, to be examined and sealed up. And so poor *Bewett*, whilst He stayed at the other’s House that They might decipher the Letter, was apprehended, and all his Papers taken out of his Pockets, and He sent to Prison. The other Cipher was quickly found, and many Letters and other Papers, which discovered many Secrets. Whereupon a Court of Justice was speedily erected: And within three Days, according to the Expedition used there in such Cases, a Scaffold was erected, and the poor Gentleman brought thither in the Sight of all ^{Upon which} his Friends; and there, with his known Courage, ^{He is executed.} and in few Words declaring “ that He had honest “ Purposes to the Country,” lost his Head.

SILVIUS quickly heard of his Imprisonment, and ^{His Friends} as soon thought it necessary to make his own Escape, ^{obliged to fly.} and arrived in *England* before He heard of his last Misfortune, which He did not suspect, nor knew how the Discovery had been made. The Knot, thus broken, dispersed themselves: Most of them got into *Flanders*; the *Burgomaster* of *Rotterdam*, and two or three others of Note, made all the Haste They could into *England*; some thought themselves secure in *Antwerp* and other Parts of *Flanders*; and some were seized upon in several Places of the *States* Dominions, and imprisoned with all the Circumstances of Severity, though upon the Want of clear Proofs few of them were put to Death. The Troop of Guards was reformed, or rather transformed, under new Officers, and assigned for a constant Guard to the *States*, without the least formal Relation to the Prince of *Orange*, or using his Name or Livery, or Permission to pay any Reverence to him. And so the Prince was much

lower than before, and all Hopes of reviving almost extinguished or expired; *De Wit* stood firmer upon his own Feet than ever, and directed all Preparations for the War without Control; and all the present Expectation in *England* vanished: Whilst the Pensionary informed *France* of the Dangers He had escaped for them, and what great Matters had been offered to him if He would have departed from their Interest; and made the Plot to contain all that He fancied it might have done.

WHEN the Parliament at *Oxford* was prorogued, it was to a Day in *April*: But the King had Reason to believe that They would not so soon be in good Humour enough to give more Money, which was the principal End of calling them together. And the Dregs of the Plague still remaining, and venting its Malignity in many Burials every Week, his Majesty thought fit to dispense with their Attendance at that Time by a Proclamation: And He caused it at the Day to be prorogued to the twentieth of *September* following. In the mean Time the Court abounded in all its Excesses. There had been some Hope during the Abode at *Oxford*, that the Queen had been with Child; and whilst that Hope lasted, the King lived with more Constraint and Caution, and prepared to make himself worthy of that Blessing: And there are many Reasons to believe, besides his own natural good Inclinations, that if God had vouchsafed to have given him a Child, and the Queen that Blessing to have merited from him, He would have restrained all those inordinate Appetites and Delights; and that He would seriously have applied himself to his Government, and cut off all those extravagant Expences of Money and Time, which disturbed and corrupted the Evenness of his own Nature and the Sincerity of his Intentions, and exposed him to the Temptations of those who had all the Traps and Snares to catch and detain him.

THE Imagination of the Queen's Breeding was The Queen miscarries. one Cause of her Stay there; and her Stay there was the longer, because She miscarried when She intended to begin her Journey. And though the Doctors declared that it was a real Miscarriage, ripe enough to make a Judgment of the Sex; yet some of the Women who had more Credit with the King assured him, "that it was only a false Conception, and that "She had not been at all with Child:" Insomuch that his Majesty, who had been so confident upon a former Occasion, as to declare to the Queen his Mother and to others, "that upon his own Knowledge "her Majesty had miscarried of a Son," suffered himself now to be so totally convinced by those Ladies and other Women, that He did as positively believe that She never had, never could be, with Child. And from that Time He took little Pleasure in her Conversation, and more indulged to himself all Liberties in the Conversation of those, who used all their Skill to supply him with Divertisements, which might drive all that was serious out of his Thoughts, and make ³⁸⁾him undervalue those whom He had used, and still did most trust and employ, in what He thought most important; though He sometimes thought many Things not of Importance, which in the Consequence were of the highest.

THE Lady, who had never declined in Favour, was now greater in Power than ever: She was with Child again, and well enough contented that his Majesty should entertain an Amour with another Lady, and made a very strict Friendship with her, it may be the more diligently out of Confidence that He would never prevail with her, which many others believed too. But without Doubt the King's Passion was stronger towards that other Lady, than ever it was to any other Woman: And She carried it with that Discretion and Modesty, that She made no other Use of it than for the Convenience of her own Fortune and Subsistence, which was narrow enough;

never seemed disposed to interpose in the least Degree in Business, nor to speak ill of any Body; which Kind of Nature and Temper the more inflamed the King's Affection, who did not in his Nature love a busy Woman, and had an Aversion from speaking with any Woman, or hearing them speak, of any Business but to that Purpose He thought them all made for, however They broke in afterwards upon him to all other Purposes.

THE Lady herself, who every Day (as was said before) grew in Power and Credit, did not yet presume to interpose in any other Business, than in giving all the imaginable Countenance She could to those who desired to depend upon her, and, in their Right as well as her own, in depressing the Credit of those who She knew wished her's much less than it was; but in this last Argument She was hitherto wary, and took only such Opportunities as were offered, without going out of her Way to find them. Her principal Business was to get an Estate for herself and her Children, which She thought the King at least as much concerned to provide as She to solicit; which however She would not be wanting in, and so procured round Sums of Money out of the Privy Purse (where She had placed Mr. *May*), and other Assignations in other Names, and so the less taken Notice of, though in great Proportions: All which yet amounted to little more than to pay her Debts, which She had in few Years contracted to an unimaginable Greatness, and to defray her constant Expences, which were very excessive in Coaches and Horses, Cloaths and Jewels, without any Thing of Generosity, or gratifying any of her Family, or so much as paying any of her Father's Debts, whereof some were very clamorous. Her Name was not used in any Suits for the Grant of Lands; for besides that there was no avowing or publick Mention of natural Children, She did think the Chancellor and Treasurer willing to obstruct such Grants,

and

and desired not to have any Occasion to try the Kindness of either of them: And so all the Suits She made of that Kind were with Reference to *Ireland*, where They had no Title to obstruct, nor natural Opportunity to know, what was granted; and in that Kingdom She procured the Grant of several great Quantities of Land, like to prove of great Benefit and Value to her or her Children.

THE chief Design They now began to design, and the worst They could ever design, was to raise a *An Attempt to raise Jealousies in the King of his Majesty was not in any Degree inclined, and had Truth a just Affection for him and Confidence in him, without thinking better of his natural Parts than He thought there was Cause for; and yet, which made it the more wondered at, He did very often depart in Matters of the highest Moment from his own Judgment to comply with his Brother, who was instructed, by those who too well knew the King's Nature, to adhere to any Thing He once advised, and to be importunate in any Thing He proposed; in which He prevailed the more easily, because He never used it in any Thing that concerned himself or his own Benefit.*

THE Truth is: It was the unhappy Fate and Con-*The Temper and Disposition of the Stuart Family.*stitution of that Family, that They trusted naturally the Judgments of those, who were as much inferior to them in Understanding as They were in Quality, before their own which was very good; and suffered even their Natures, which disposed them to Virtue and Justice, to be prevailed upon and altered and corrupted by those, who knew how to make Use of some one Infirmary that They discovered in them; and by complying with that, and cherishing and serving it, They by Degrees wrought upon the Mass, and sacrificed all the other good Inclinations to that single Vice. They were too much inclined to like Men at first Sight, and did not love the Conversation of Men of many more Years than themselves, and

thought Age not only troublesome but impertinent. They did not love to deny, and less to Strangers than to their Friends; not out of Bounty or Generosity, which was a Flower that did never grow naturally in the Heart of either of the Families, that of *Stuart* or the other of *Bourbon*, but out of an Unskilfulness and Defect in the Countenance: And when They prevailed with themselves to make some Pause rather than to deny, Importunity removed all Resolution, which They knew neither how to shut out nor to defend themselves against, even when it was evident enough that They had much rather not consent; which often made that which would have looked like Bounty lose all its Grace and Lustre.

*Particularly of
the King and
Duke.*

IF the Duke seemed to be more firm and fixed in his Resolutions, it was rather from an Obstinacy in his Will, which He defended by Aversion from the Debate, than from the Constancy of his Judgment, which was more subject to Persons than to Arguments, and so as changeable at least as the King's, which was in greatest Danger by Surprise: And from this Want of Steadiness, and Irresolution (whencefoever the Infirmary proceeded) most of the Misfortunes, which attended either of them or their Servants who served them honestly, had their Rise and Growth; of which there will be shortly an Occasion, and too frequently, to say much more. In the mean Time it cannot be denied, and was observed and confessed by all, that never any Prince had a more humble and dutiful Condescension and Submission to an elder Brother, than the Duke had towards the King: His whole Demeanour and Behaviour was so full of Reverence, that it might have given Example to be imitated by those, who ought but did not observe a greater Distance. And the Conscience and Resentment He had within himself, for the Sally He had made in *Flanders*, made him after so wary in his Actions, and so abhorring to hear any Thing that might lessen his Awe for the King, that no Man

who

who had most Credit with him durst approach towards any Thing of that Kind; so that there was never less Ground of Jealousy than of him. And (as was said before) the King (who was in his Nature so far from any Kind of Jealousy, that He was too much inclined to make Interpretations of many Words and Actions, which might reasonably harbour other Apprehensions) was as incapable of any Insults which might lessen his Confidence in his Brother, as any noble and virtuous Mind could be. And therefore those ill Men, who began about this Time to sow that cursed Seed that grew up to bear a large Crop of the worst and rankest Jealousy in the succeeding Time, did not presume to make any Reflection upon the Duke himself, but upon his Wife, "upon the State She assumed, and the Height of
 o) "the whole Family, that lived in much more Plenty," They said, "than the King's, and were more regarded abroad."

SUCH Kind of People are never without some particular Stories of the Persons whom They desire to deprave: And so They had many Instances, which They used upon all Occasions, of some Levity or Vanity, of some Words affected by the Dutchess, or some outward Carriage, true or false, which for the most Part concluded in Mirth and Laughter, and seemed ridiculous; which was the Method They used in all their Approaches of that Kind towards the highest Acts of Malice, first to make the Person, whom They hoped to ruin in the End, less esteemed, by the acting and Presentation of his Words and Gestures and Motions; which commonly is attended with Laughter. And this is the first Breach They make upon any Man's Reputation; and the frequent Custom of this Kind of Laughter and Mirth, which is easily produced without any Malice, doth in the End open a Space large enough to let in Calumny and Scandal enough to weaken, if not to destroy, the best built Reputation.

*Endeavours
 used to lessen
 the King's Esteem
 of the
 Dutchess.*

THIS was the Course They held with Reference to the Dutcheſs, whom the King had for the Beginning treated with great Grace and Favour, and conſidered her as a Woman of more than an ordinary Wit and Underſtanding: And the Queen Mother had from the Reconciliation uſed her with that abundant Affection and Familiarity that was very wonderful; and the Heights She aſſumed, and all that Greatneſs which many thought too much, were not only inculcated, but enjoined by the Queen as a Duty due to her Huſband, of whoſe high Degree She thought She could not be too tender and careful. And She had the Happineſs ſo well to behave herſelf towards the Duke, that He was exceedingly pleaſed with her, and lived towards her with an Affection ſo remarkable and notorious, that it grew to be the publick Diſcourſe and Commendation; and which made the Liberties that were taken elſewhere the more ſpoken of and cenſured. It was very viſible that He liked her Company and Converſation very well, and was believed to communicate all his Counſels, and all He knew or thought, without Reſerve to her; which, being ſo contrary to the profeſſed Doctrine of the Court, adminiſtered Occaſion to the Men of Mirth, in thoſe Seaſons which took up a good Part of every Night, to be very pleaſant upon the Government of the Dutcheſs, and the Submiſſion of the Duke; in which there were always ſome witty Reflections upon the Chancellor. And this Kind of Liberty, being firſt grateful to the King for the Wit that accompanied it and the Mirth that it produced, grew by the Cuſtom of it the more acceptable; and it may be the general and publick Obſervation of the Diſparity in the Lives of the two Brothers made it wiſhed, that there were no more of that Strictneſs in the one Place than in the other, towards which there wanted not Application and Advice accordingly as well as Example.

IN the mean Time the Chancellor had a hard Part to act, being neither able to do the Good He constantly endeavoured on one Side, nor remove the Ill He disliked on the other Side ; for He saw well the Mischief that would inevitably follow the great Expences of the Duke, which exceeded all Limits and could never be provided for ; and thought the Dutcheſs to be blamed for what She ſpent upon herſelf, and uſed all the Credit He had with Both to begin in Time to reform what Neceſſity would ſhortly do with more Diſhonour : But the Diſeaſe had grown from the firſt ill Digefſtion.

- 41) THE Lord *Berkley* had upon the King's firſt Arrival formed a Family without Rule or Precedent, and made the Servants in a much better Condition than the Maſter, by aſſigning liberal Penſions and Allowances to them, who had paid him dear for their Places, without conſidering from what Fund they ſhould ariſe : And now They all would have the Duke believe, “ that He ſpent not too much ; “ but that He had too little Proviſion aſſigned to “ him for his Quality and Relation, and that this “ proceeded from the Neglect in the Chancellor, “ who was able, if He endeavoured it, to perſuade “ the King to enlarge it to a juſt Proportion.” And this was as much urged to the Dutcheſs as to the Duke, and it made in her a greater Impreſſion ; and though She had in all other Reſpects a very entire Affection and even a Duty and Reſignation to her Father, yet in this He had no Authority with her, nor did She think him a competent Judge what Expences Princes ſhould make : And having ſeen the State and Luſtre in which the Duke of *Anjou* lived in *France*, and having received many Infuſions from the Queen, of the great Defect in the Cuſtoms of *England*, in providing either for the Reſpect or for the Support of the younger Sons of the Crown, She thought that the Chancellor ſhould rather uſe his Credit for the enlarging that Narrowneſs, which the

King was enough disposed to, than to reform their Expences. But of this enough.

THE Plague had really swept away and destroyed so many Seamen (*Stepney* and the Places adjacent, which were their common Habitations, being almost depopulated) that now, all other Obstructions being removed, there seemed even an Impossibility to procure Sailors and Mariners enough to set out the Fleet; insomuch as They found it necessary to press many Watermen, and to disfurnish all Merchant Ships which were prepared to be set out to the Plantations or to other Places of Trade: All which turned not so much to Benefit one Way, as it did to Loss another Way. But the best Way to expedite all Things was the two Admirals going to the Fleet themselves, that They who resolved to go might hasten thither, and that They who had no Mind to go might, out of Shame, likewise accompany them.

*The Fleet puts
to Sea under
Prince Rupert
and the
General.*

THERE appeared great Unanimity and Consent between them. Only Prince *Rupert* had a great Desire to go in a Ship apart, and that They might not be Both in one Ship: But upon Debate it appeared to be unpracticable, and that in a Time of Action the Orders could not be the same, if They who gave them were not together and in the same Place; and so the Prince was persuaded not to be positive in that Particular. And so They Both went together, and took Leave of the King towards the End of *April*, and laboured so effectually (as They were Both Men of great Dexterity and indefatigable Industry in such Conjunctions), that They carried the Fleet out to Sea, well fitted and provided, by the Middle of *May*; with which They presently visited the Coast of *Holland*, and took many Prizes; and by the Intelligence They met with concluded that the *Dutch* Fleet would not be ready in a Month, of which They gave the King Advertisement, and returned into the *Downs*. And Prince *Rupert* at the same Time

Time expressed an Inclination to go himself with ^{The Occasion} Part of the Fleet to meet the Duke of *Beaufort*, ^{of the Division of the} who was reported to be under Sail to join with the ^{Fleet.} *Dutch*, and "that They would not put to Sea till
 " They foresaw that They were like to join about
 " *Calais*."

At or near the same Time the Lord *Arlington* received Intelligence, "that the *Dutch* were not yet
 " well manned; and that the Ships which were in
 " the *Texel*, and were to join with the other under
 " *De Ruyter* in the *Wierings*, were more unprovided:"
 Though at the same Time Secretary *Morrice* (who
 (12) had always better Intelligence from *Holland*) was assured from thence, "that all the Ships in Both
 " Places were so ready that they would join within
 " very few Days." But the Lord *Arlington*, who
 thought He ought to be more believed, received as
 positive Advertisement from *France*, "that the Duke
 " of *Beaufort* set sail from *Brest* on such a Day:"
 And though the Wind had not been yet directly
 favourable for him, it was concluded that He must
 be well advanced in his Way, and He had no Port
 to Friend till He came to the Coast of *France* near
Calais.

UPON this there seemed a great Desire that Prince
Rupert might take the Course He had proposed; for
 the Convenience was agreed to be very great, if the
French could be met with before the Conjunction.
 However the Council was so wary that at that Time
 attended the King at *Worcester-House*, the Chancellor
 being affected with the Gout, that They advised the
 King "not to send positive Orders for the dividing
 " the Fleet, which by many Accidents might pro-
 " duce Inconveniences; but rather to send two of
 " the Council to the Fleet, with an Account of all
 " the Intelligence, and the Reflections which occur-
 " red to the King upon it." And hereupon Sir *George*
Carteret and Sir *William Coventry* were presently sent,
 and carried such Orders with them, as would be
 necessary

necessary if the Generals had not other Intelligence, or did think that the Division was not liable to more Objections than had been in View. And this Caution I set down more particularly, because the Council underwent Reproaches which it did not deserve.

THE two Counsellors used such Expedition, and found so good Conveniences by Land and Water, that They returned to the King the next Day with an Account, "that the State of the *Dutch* Fleet was confirmed to be the same that his Majesty had heard, "and that They believed the other concerning the "Duke of *Beaufort* to be very probable; whereupon "They had concluded with a mutual Consent and Approbation, *that Prince Rupert should take twenty of the "Ships, which He had already chosen, to meet the French, "though They were superiour in Number, whilst the General remained in the Downs with the rest*: And in Order to this that the Prince went aboard his Ship before They came away, and the rather, because the "Wind was so much against him, that his Majesty's "Orders, if He found Cause to send any, would be "sure for some Days to find him upon the Western "Coast; and the Wind that was against him was so "favourable to the Duke of *Beaufort*, that it was probable They might speedily meet, and in a Place to "to be wished." The King saw no Cause yet to send Orders to the contrary; and this was the Reason, and all the Circumstances, of the Separation of the Fleet that proved unfortunate.

It appeared very soon after, which Secretary had the better Intelligence: For the very next Day after the Departure of the Prince, the General, who remained in the *Downs*, had certain Intelligence that the *Dutch* were come out of their Harbours, having it seems received Intelligence likewise of the *French* Fleet's being at Sea, and being obliged to meet them, and had been long ready to do so; which had deceived the Court, They believing that They stayed because They were not ready to come out, whereas They were ready and expected only the other Advertisement.

As soon as the General was informed, He sent Notice presently to the Duke late in the same Evening, who, informing the King of it, gave Orders to Sir *William Coventry* to prepare Orders to Prince *Rupert* immediately to return; and if those Orders had been carefully dispatched, they might have come to the Prince before the Morning. But Sir *William Coventry* ^{A Neglect in} thought He had done his Part when He got the Order ^{forwarding} signed, which was about twelve of the Clock at Night, ^{an Order to} and then sent them by his Servant to the Lord *Arlington* ^{Prince Rupert} ^{to rejoin the} ^{Fleet.} whose Part He thought it was to charge a Messenger with them: But He was gone to Bed, and his Servants durst not disquiet him, a Tenderness not accustomed to be in the Family of a Secretary. But whether They did not wake him, as He pretended, or being awake He deferred it, it was not sent away till the next Day, and never came to Prince *Rupert's* Hand till He turned his Sails upon the Thunder of the Cannon; and He no sooner endeavoured to return, but the Wind chopped about to retard him, that He could make little Way that Day or the Night following. Whose Fault it was that these important Orders were not sent with more Expedition, whether Sir *William Coventry* ought not to have taken Care for the conveying them, at least to have given the Lord *Arlington* Notice what the Contents of them were, of which He denied to have any Notice, was disputed with some Warmth between themselves, and so came to be published: But it was never examined any where else, though the Negligence was very mischievous in its Effect; but They were Both too great Men to be questioned in any Judicatory.

THE General, after the Notice He had received of the Motion of the *Dutch*, ordered the Fleet to weigh Anchor about three of the Clock in the Morning upon the first of *June* 1666, to sail to the *Buoy of the Gun-* ^{The Dutch} ^{Fleet comes out.} fleet to join with some other Ships which lay there, to get more Men, being then but ill manned: And about seven of the Clock in the Morning the Scouts came

came in, and brought the General Notice, that the *Dutch* Fleet was to the Leeward, and probably intended to decline fighting till They might join with the *French*. And it had been to be wished that the *English* had stood off too, upon Confidence that Prince *Rupert*, whom the Wind had kept from being far off, as They could not but know, would receive Direction from Court to return. But the General (who was as impatient upon the Sight of an Enemy to engage with him as Prince *Rupert* himself, and had a natural Contempt of the *Dutch*) called his Flag-Officers to Council, and quickly resolved, "that it was not convenient "nor safe nor honourable to decline the Battle, lest it "might take off the present Courage of the Seamen." And truly in all those Consultations, upon the like Occasions, whoever proposed any wary Advice run great Hazard of being reputed a Coward. And so They bore up with a full Wind upon the Enemy, notwithstanding the visible Disadvantage They were in, in Respect of the Strength of the Enemy, for in the Absence of Prince *Rupert* there remained little above fifty Sail with the General; whereas *De Ruyter's* Fleet consisted of above fourscore Sail, who easily perceived his Advantage, and that a great Part of the *English* Fleet was absent, and so willingly embraced the Occasion, and made what Sail He could to meet with them.

The second general Engagement.

The first Day's Action.

It was about two of the Clock in the Afternoon when the Engagment began; and the *English* had got the Wind, which was so high that They could not carry out their lower Tiers. The Admiral was so shattered in his Rigging and Masts, that He was compelled to get off and anchor, that He might mend what was amiss; and many of his Squadron had their Main-yards shot off, and received such Damage in their Tackling, which was the chief Aim of the *Dutch*, that They could hardly govern their Ships. And by this Means the Enemy got the Wind; and the Battle continued with great Fierceness, and Loss of many Men on Both Sides, till nine or ten of the Clock at Night, when all were willing to have some Rest,

344) THAT Night was spent in repairing Masts and Rig-^{The second}
ging: And at six of the Clock in the Morning the ^{Day's Action,}
Battle began again with the same Fierceness, and lasted
till Night. And that Day the *Dutch* suffered much,
and one of their Vice-Admirals was boarded and after-
wards sunk, as many of their other Ships likewise
were; so that They began to fall off: When sixteen
new great Ships came to their Aid, which gave them ^{The Dutch}
new Courage; so that They renewed and maintained ^{reinforced.}
the Fight with great Resolution, and killed many Men
of the *English* and disabled many of the Ships, till the
Night again parted them.

UPON the Account the General received that Night,
and the new Access of Force to the *Dutch*, He thought ^{The English}
it necessary to retire; for though He had lost no Ship, ^{retire.}
very many were so disabled, that there was Reason to
fear they would hardly hold out to recover the Shore.
And thereupon He caused all those Ships to be put be-
fore and make all the Sail they could, and himself with
sixteen Ships in a Breadth went in the Rear: Which
as soon as the Enemy perceived, They pursued, but
came not within Reach of their Guns till four of the
Clock in the Afternoon; and then though They shot ^{The third}
hard They did very little Harm, the Sternpieces of the ^{Day's Action;}
English over-reaching their Broadsides, which made
many of them get off as quickly as They could. But
by this Time the *English* descried about twenty Sail of
Ships standing towards them, which They concluded
to be Prince *Rupert* (as it proved): And so being ear-
nest to join, They edged up towards them, but so un-
fortunately, that many of the Flag-Ships were on
Ground off the *Galloper-Sand*. But with much ado
they all got off safe, the *Royal Prince* only excepted,
which for this last Age, and till the late War, was
held the best Ship in the World. This brave Ship
stuck so fast that no Art or Industry could move her;
so that the Enemy, when They found They could not
carry her off, set her on Fire, and took the Captain
Sir *George Ayscue* and all the Company Prisoners, and
without

without Distinction used all with great Barbarity, in which They pretended only to use Retaliation. That Night Prince *Rupert* joined: And then They bore to the Northward, that They might get clear of the Sands; and thereby the Enemy got the Wind again.

*The fourth
Day's Action.*

THE fourth Day of the Battle, which was the fourth of *June*, the Enemy being to Windward about three Leagues, the Generals in the Morning made all Sail towards towards them: And They lay with their Sails to the Masts to stay for them, which They would not have had the Courage to have done, if They had not had Intelligence from the Prisoners of the *Prince*, in how tattered a Condition the Fleet was. The Battle began about eight of the Clock in the Morning with extraordinary Confidence on Both Sides, the *Dutch* continuing their old Guard to spend all their Shot upon the Rigging and Masts, and to defend themselves from being boarded, which the *English* most intended and laboured to do. But the Design of the others succeeded better: Insomuch that one of the Vice-Admirals of a Squadron, and other of the best Ships, were so disabled that They bore off from the Battle, that They might mend and repair; which gave no small Encouragement to the Enemy. But the two Generals were invincible, and continued the Battle all the Day in several Forms, and by the Advantage of the Wind fired six or seven of their Ships, and sunk others, and had two or three of their own likewise sunk. And between six and seven at Night, as if by Consent (and no Doubt Both Sides were very weary of the Encounter), They separated without looking after each other, and hastened to their several Coasts; many of the *English* being so hurt in Yards, Masts, Rigging and Hulls, many of them wanting Men to ply their Guns, and their Powder and Shot near spent, that with very much Difficulty they got into Harbour: And so concluded that great Action, wherein either Side pretended to have Advantage, and Both lost very much. (345)

*Both Sides
claim the Vic-
tory.*

THE next Day after the Battle was spent in fitting their Masts and repairing their Rigging, that They might be able to reach the Coast: And when They came near it, the Generals called a Council about disposing those Ships which could not remain at Sea, and sent them to such several Places as they might be soonest repaired in; and gave every Captain very strict Order, “that all possible Diligence and Expedition should be used to get their Ships ready, and furnished with whatsoever was wanting;” and the Commissioners of the Navy were required to be assistant in all Places. And so wonderful Diligence was used (which appears almost incredible) that the whole Fleet was so well fitted, that by the seventeenth Day of the same Month, within a Fortnight after so terrible a Battle, it was gathered together to a Rendezvous to the *Buoy of the Nore*. The Enemy made as much Haste, rather to meet with the *French*, who were every Day still expected, than to fight with the *English*, and kept as near to their own Coast as conveniently They could: So that how ready soever the Generals were (who had never left their Ships) with the Fleet by the seventeenth of the Month, the Winds were so averse or so calm, that it was the four and twentieth Day of that Month before They could reach the Sight of the Enemy.

AND the next Day, which was the twenty fifth, the *English* made all the Sail They could, and by ten in the Morning engaged in as hot an Encounter as had hitherto been in any Engagement: And though the *Dutch* seemed not to fight with the same Spirit and Mettle, yet the Battle held till two in the Afternoon, when by the Advantage of the Wind They bore away faster than the *English* could follow. However here ^{*The third general Engagement.*} They took Vice-Admiral *Banchart*, and his Ship of ^{*The English victorious.*} threescore Guns and three hundred Men was burned; and another Ship of seventy Guns and three hundred Men was likewise taken and burned; which the Generals thought better, than to undergo the possible Inconvenience

convenience of keeping them: And so They kept up as close to the Enemy in the Night as They could do. The next Morning They used all their Sails, and designed to board *De Ruyter*; which, the Wind lessening, They could not effect, He fighting very well but running faster: And so, though very well pursued, He got into his Fastness at the *Wierings*, with those who were nearest to him. But the rest who were farther off, and were like to have the Benefit of the Night, tacked about: Which They who attacked *De Ruyter* perceiving, and that They could follow him no farther, and that the rest were five and forty Sail, They followed them, the Generals doing all They could with their Squadron to put themselves between them and the Coast; but the Wind growing on a sudden calm, about Midnight They dropped their Anchors, that They might not be driven farther than They had a Mind to be. But in the Morning, when They weighed Anchor to pursue them, and made all the Way They could with a little Wind, the Enemy got so close to their own Shore, their Ships drawing less Water than the *English*, that there could be no farther Pursuit.

ANOTHER Part of the Fleet, which was separated when *De Ruyter* got into the *Wierings*, and which the Generals looked upon as their own, was so unhappily pursued, though by Men of very good Name, that they escaped; which raised a great Distemper in the Fleet, whilst some Officers of the prime and most unquestionable Courage charged and accused others, who had always given great Testimony that They durst do any Thing, “of base declining to fight when the
“ Enemy was in their Power, and that They chose rather to suffer them to escape than to encounter them.” And this Dispute and Expostulation, between Men who had many Seconds, divided the Generals, one declaring himself on the one Side as the other did on the other; but They wisely laid aside the Debate, till They should be at more Leisure with less Inconvenience to determine it.

THE Generals thereupon, having thus scattered the Enemy, resolved to ply upon the *Dutch Coast* to take all Ships of Trade, which They did; and off the *Texel* and the *Flie* took many Prizes, both homeward and outward bound, of great Value. And They having now Nothing to do but to lie still, there was a *Dutch* Captain, one *Laurence Van Humskerke*, who after the first Battle, in the Faction between *Evertson* and *Van Trump*, had given *De Wit* so great an Advantage, that if He had not made his Escape He had been hanged, who from that Time had always been on Board with *Prince Rupert*: This Man, whilst the Fleet lay in this Posture, advised *Prince Rupert* to attempt a Place near the *Flie*, which was so locked in the Land that it was always looked upon as very secure (and where all Ships laden at *Amsterdam* for the *Straits* and those Parts, when they were outward bound, used to lie two or three Days, as in a safe Port, until all Things which might be forgotten were prepared, and all the Company came together), and had never been invaded in any War; and by it was a pretty large Village, called *Schelling*, which had many good Houses in it, besides others inhabited by, and for the Entertainment of, Seamen.

THIS Enterprize was committed to *Sir Robert Holmes*, a very bold and expert Man; who with a Number of small Vessels very well manned, besides a Body of stout Foot to land upon Occasions, being assisted by the *Dutchman*, so vigorously assaulted it, that He burned all the *Dutch Ships* lying there, being of inestimable Value, all outward bound, and some of them worth above one hundred thousand Pounds each Ship. They burned likewise the whole Town of *Schelling*; which Conflagration, with that of the Ships, appearing at the Break of Day so near *Amsterdam*, put that Place into that Consternation that They thought the Day of Judgment was come, not thinking of their Ships there, as being out of the Power or Reach of any Enemy: And no Doubt it was the greatest Loss that State sustained

The Attempt upon the Island of Schelling.

The chief Town and a large Fleet of Merchant Ships burnt.

tained in the whole War, that is, greater than all the rest. And as this Victory, if it can be called a Victory when there is no Resistance, occasioned great Triumph in *England*, so it raised great Thoughts of Heart in *De Wit*, and a Resolution of Revenge before any Peace should be consented to; which They effected to a good Degree the next Year.

THERE appeared no more Likelihood of the *Dutch* coming out again: So about the fifteenth of *August* the Generals returned to *Southwold Bay* to receive a Recruit of Men, Provisions and Ammunition, having left Ships enough upon the Coast of *Holland* to take Prizes, and Scouts upon the Coast to get Intelligence in what Readiness the Enemy's Fleet was, and what was done within the Land. And about the twenty seventh a little Pink, that waited upon the Coast of *Zealand*, brought Notice that the Enemy, consisting of about fourscore Sail of Ships, were ready to come out from the *Wierings*; and the next Day They were assured that They were come out and bound Westward, by which They concluded that They had Hope to join the *French* Fleet. Whereupon the Generals gave present Orders to unmoor the Fleet; and weighing Anchor about seven of the Clock in the Morning stood to Sea, and about Noon discovered the *Dutch* Fleet about four Leagues to the Leeward. The Generals made all Sail towards them: But the Enemy stood away for the Coast of *Flanders*, whilst the *English* were so entangled upon the *Gailoper-Sands*, that They could not stand after the Enemy till late in the Afternoon; so that it was Night before They came near each other, and then several Guns were fired to little Purpose.

*The Dutch
Fleet puts to
Sea again.*

THE next Morning, being the first of *September*, the Season when the Winds begin to grow boisterous, They had upon the breaking of the Day lost the Sight of the Enemy, though They believed that They had bore up in the Night for them: But when it was Light, They found that They were to the Leeward as

far

far as They could discover, near *St. John's Bay* beyond *Calais*. The *English* pursued them, and making some Stay for the Fireships, which could not make Haste by Reason of the blustering Weather, it was four in the Afternoon before the Fleet came up together to them; when *De Ruyter* made a Shew as if He would draw off from the Shore towards them. But when He saw the *English* stand with him and advance with their usual Resolution, He tacked back again, and stood close in to the Shore, where the rest of the Fleet was, in the Bay of *Staples*. And then the Night came, and the Wind blew so violently, that the *English* were forced to tack, and many of the Ships were forced to the Leeward, The English Fleet dispersed by a Storm. the Night being so foul, that neither the Generals nor the chief Flags could be discerned. And though the Storm continued very violent the next Day, a good Part of the Fleet got again together, and stood to the Bay of *Staples*, where the *Dutch* still remained close under the Shore at Anchor, but could not be invited to come out. So the *English* found it necessary to stand farther out to the Sea; and then They discovered the rest of the Fleet at a great Distance to the Leeward, and so bore after them, and at Night They all arrived at *St. Helen's Point*. And though the Tempest still increased, a Squadron went every Day out to the Coast of *France*.

IN this Tempest the *French* Fleet had a very narrow Escape, by a Providence They are seldom without. The French Fleet has a narrow Escape A Gentleman of good Quality of that Nation returned at this Time out of *England* (whither They repaired with as much Liberty and were as kindly treated as if there were no War, whilst no *Englishman* could be safe there); and landing at *Calais*, and finding that the Duke of *Beaufort* was every Day expected, He dispatched two or three Barks to find him, with Information how and where the *English* lay; one of which came so luckily to him towards the Evening, that He changed his Course, and by the Darkness of the Night got into the Road of *Diepe*, where He dropped his

Anchors. But his Vice-Admiral, being the biggest and the best Ship but one in the Fleet, and carrying seventy Pieces of Cannon, pursuing the Course He was directed, in the Dark of the Night fell amongst the *English*, as the rest had done if it had not been for that Advertisment; and after a little defending himself, which He saw was to no Purpose, was taken Prisoner, and desired to be brought to Prince *Rupert*, who knew him well, and treated him as a gallant Person ought to be, and caused many Things which belonged to his own Person to be restored to him; and when He was brought into *England*, He found another Kind of Reception (though He was Prisoner in the *Tower*) than any of the *English*, though of the same Quality, met with abroad. By this Accident the *French* Fleet made a happy Escape: And the Continuance of the Storm for many Days kept the *English* and the *Dutch* from any farther Engagement. But the same Winds, and at the same Time, did much more Mischief at Land than at Sea.

*The Fire of
London.*

It was upon the first Day of that *September*, in the dismal Year of 1666 (in which many Prodigies were expected and so many really fell out), that that memorable and terrible Fire brake out in *London*, which begun about Midnight, or nearer the Morning of *Sunday*, in a Baker's House at the End of *Thames Street* next the *Tower*, there being many little narrow Alleys and very poor Houses about the Place where it first appeared; and then finding such Store of combustible Materials, as that Street is always furnished with in Timber-Houses, the Fire prevailed so powerfully, that that whole Street and the Neighbourhood was in so short a Time turned to Ashes, that few Persons had Time to save and preserve any of their Goods; but were a Heap of People almost as dead with the sudden Distraction, as the Ruins were which They sustained. The Magistrates of the City assembled quickly together, and with the usual Remedies of Buckets, which They were provided with: But the Fire was too ra-

venous

venous to be extinguished with such Quantities of Water as those Instruments could apply to it, and fastened still upon new Materials before it had destroyed the old. And though it raged furiously all that Day, to that Degree that all Men stood amazed, as Spectators only, no Man knowing what Remedy to apply, nor the Magistrates what Orders to give: Yet it kept within some Compass, burned what was next, and laid Hold only on Both Sides; and the greatest Apprehension was of the *Tower*, and all Considerations entered upon how to secure that Place.

BUT in the Night the Wind changed, and carried the Danger from thence, but with so great and irresistible Violence, that as it kept the *English* and *Dutch* Fleets from grappling when they were so near each other, so it scattered the Fire from pursuing the Line it was in with all its Force, and spread it over the City: So that They, who went late to Bed at a great Distance from any Place where the Fire prevailed, were awakened before Morning with their own House's being in a Flame; and whilst Endeavour was used to quench that, other Houses were discovered to be burning, which were near no Place from whence They could imagine the Fire could come; all which kindled another Fire in the Breasts of Men, almost as dangerous as that within their Houses.

MONDAY Morning produced first a Jealousy, and then an universal Conclusion, that this Fire came not by Chance, nor did They care where it began; but the breaking out in several Places at so great Distance from each other made it evident, that it was by Conspiracy and Combination. And this Determination could not hold long without Discovery of the wicked Authors, who were concluded to be all the *Dutch* and all the *French* in the Town, though They had inhabited the same Places above twenty Years. All of that Kind, or, if They were Strangers, of what Nation soever, were laid Hold of; and after all the ill Usage that can consist in Words, and some Blows and Kicks,

They were thrown into Prison. And shortly after, the same Conclusion comprehended all the *Roman Catholicks*, who were in the same Predicament of Guilt and Danger, and quickly found that their only Safety consisted in keeping within Doors; and yet some of them, and of Quality, were taken by Force out of their Houses and carried to Prison.

WHEN this Rage spread as far as the Fire, and every Hour brought Reports of some bloody Effects of it, worse than in Truth there were, the King distributed many of the Privy Council into several Quarters of the City, to prevent, by their Authorities, those Inhumanities which He heard were committed. In the mean Time, even They or any other Person thought it not safe to declare, "that They believed that the " Fire came by Accident, or that it was not a Plot of " the *Dutch* and the *French* and *Papists* to burn the " City;" which was so generally believed, and in the best Company, that He who said the Contrary was suspected for a Conspirator, or at best a Favourer of them. (349) It could not be conceived, how a House that was distant a Mile from any Part of the Fire could suddenly be in a Flame, without some particular Malice; and this Case fell out every Hour. When a Man at the farthest End of *Bread-Street* had made a Shift to get out of his House his best and most portable Goods, because the Fire had approached near them; He no sooner had secured them, as He thought, in some Friend's House in *Holborn*, which was believed a safe Distance, but He saw that very House, and none else near it, in a sudden Flame. Nor did there want, in this woful Distemper, the Testimony of Witnesses who saw this Villany committed, and apprehended Men who They were ready to swear threw Fireballs into Houses, which were presently burning.

THE Lord *Hollis* and Lord *Ashley*, who had their Quarters assigned about *Newgate-Market* and the Streets adjacent, had many brought to them in Custody for Crimes of this Nature; and saw, within a very little Distance

Distance from the Place where They were, the People gathered together in great Disorder; and as They came nearer saw a Man in the Middle of them without a Hat or Cloak, pulled and hauled and very ill used, whom They knew to be a Servant to the *Portugal* Ambassadour, who was presently brought to them. And a substantial Citizen was ready to take his Oath, “that He saw that Man put his Hand into his Pocket, “and throw into a Shop a Fireball; upon which He “saw the House immediately on Fire: Whereupon, “being on the other Side of the Way, and seeing this, “He cried out to the People to stop that Gentleman, “and made all the Haste He could himself;” but the People had first seized upon him, and taken away his Sword, which He was ready to draw; and He not speaking nor understanding *English*, They had used him in the Manner set down before. The Lord *Hollis* told him what He was accused of, and “that He was seen “to have thrown Somewhat out of his Pocket, which “They thought to be a Fireball, into a House which “was now on Fire:” and the People had diligently searched his Pockets to find more of the same Commodities, but found Nothing that They meant to accuse him of. The Man standing in great Amazement to hear He was so charged, the Lord *Hollis* asked him, “what it was that He pulled out of his Pocket, and “what it was He threw into the House:” To which He answered, “that He did not think that He had put “his Hand into his Pocket; but He remembered very “well, that as He walked in the Street He saw a Piece “of Bread upon the Ground, which He took up and “laid upon a Shelf in the next House;” which is a Custom or Superstition so natural to the *Portuguese*, that if the King of *Portugal* were walking, and saw a Piece of Bread upon the Ground, He would take it up with his own Hand, and keep it till He saw a fit Place to lay it down.

THE House being in View, the Lords with many of the People walked to it, and found the Piece of Bread

just within the Door upon a Board, where He said He laid it; and the House on Fire was two Doors beyond it, which the Man who was on the other Side of the Way, and saw this Man put his Hand into the House without staying, and presently after the Fire break out, concluded to be the same House; which was very natural in the Fright that all Men were in: Nor did the Lords, though They were satisfied, set the poor Man at Liberty; but, as if there remained Ground enough of Suspicion, committed him to the Constable, to be kept by him in his own House for some Hours, when They pretended They would examine him again. Nor were any Persons who were seized upon in the same Manner, as Multitudes were in all the Parts of the Town, especially if They were Strangers or *Papists*,⁽³⁵⁰⁾ presently discharged, when there was no reasonable Ground to suspect; but all sent to Prison, where They were in much more Security than They could have been in full Liberty, after They were once known to have been suspected; and most of them understood their Commitment to be upon that Ground, and were glad of it.

THE Fire and the Wind continued in the same Excess all *Monday*, *Tuesday*, and *Wednesday* till Afternoon, and flung and scattered Brands burning into all Quarters; the Nights more terrible than the Days, and the Light the same, the Light of the Fire supplying that of the Sun. And indeed whoever was an Eyewitness of that terrible Prospect, can never have so lively an Image of the last Conflagration till He beholds it; the Faces of all People in a wonderful Dejection and Discomposure, not knowing where They could repose themselves for one Hour's Sleep, and no Distance thought secure from the Fire, which suddenly started up before it was suspected; so that People left their Houses and carried away their Goods from many Places which received no Hurt, and whither They afterwards returned again; all the Fields full of Women and Children, who had made a Shift to bring thither
some

some Goods and Conveniences to rest upon, as safer than any Houses, where yet They felt such intolerable Heat and Drought, as if They had been in the Middle of the Fire. The King and the Duke, who rode from one Place to another, and put themselves into great Dangers amongst the burning and falling Houses, to give Advice and Direction what was to be done, underwent as much Fatigue as the meanest, and had as little Sleep or Rest; and the Faces of all Men appeared ghastly, and in the highest Confusion. The Country sent in Carts to help those miserable People who had saved any Goods: And by this Means, and the Help of Coaches, all the neighbour Villages were filled with more People than they could contain, and more Goods than they could find Room for; so that those Fields became likewise as full as the other about *London* and *Westminster*.

It was observed that where the Fire prevailed most, when it met with brick Buildings, if it was not repulsed, it was so well resisted that it made a much slower Progress; and when it had done its Worst, that the Timber and all the combustible Matter fell, it fell down to the Bottom within the House, and the Walls stood and enclosed the Fire, and it was burned out without making a farther Progress in many of those Places; and then the Vacancy so interrupted the Fury of it, that many Times the two or three next Houses stood without much Damage. Besides the spreading, insomuch as all *London* seemed but one Fire in the Breadth of it, it seemed to continue in its full Fury a direct Line to the *Thames* Side, all *Cheapside* from beyond the *Exchange*, through *Fleetstreet*; insomuch as for that Breadth, taking in Both Sides as far as the *Thames*, there was scarce a House or Church standing from the Bridge to *Dorset-House*, which was burned on *Tuesday* Night after *Baynard's Castle*.

ON *Wednesday* Morning, when the King saw that neither the Fire decreased nor the Wind lessened, He even despaired of preserving *Whitehall*, but was more
afraid

afraid of *Westminster-Abbey*. But having observed by his having visited all Places, that where there were any vacant Places between the Houses, by which the Progress of the Fire was interrupted, it changed its Course and went to the other Side; He gave Order for pulling down many Houses about *Whitehall*, some whereof were newly built and hardly finished, and sent many of his choice Goods by Water to *Hampton-Court*; as most of the Persons of Quality in the *Strand*, who had the Benefit of the River, got Barges and other Vessels, and sent their Furniture for their Houses to some Houses some Miles out of the Town. And very many on Both Sides the *Strand*, who knew not whither to go, and scarce what They did, fled with their Families out of their Houses into the Streets, that They might not be within when the Fire fell upon their Houses. (35)

The Fire decreases.

BUT it pleased God, contrary to all Expectation, that on *Wednesday*, about four or five of the Clock in the Afternoon, the Wind fell: And as in an Instant the Fire decreased, having burned all on the *Thames* Side to the New Buildings of the *Inner-Temple* next to *White-Friars*, and having consumed them, was stopped by that Vacancy from proceeding farther into that House; but laid Hold on some old Buildings which joined to *Ram-Alley*, and swept all those into *Fleet Street*. And the other Side being likewise destroyed to *Fetter-Lane*, it advanced no farther; but left the other Part of *Fleet Street* to the *Temple-Bar*, and all the *Strand*, unhurt, but what Damage the Owners of the Houses had done to themselves by endeavouring to remove; and it ceased in all other Parts of the Town near the same Time: So that the greatest Care then was, to keep good Guards to watch the Fire that was upon the Ground, that it might not break out again. And this was the better performed, because They who had yet their Houses standing had not the Courage to sleep, but watched with much less Distraction; though the same Distemper still remained in the utmost Extent, “ that all this had fallen out by the Conspiracy of the

French

French and *Dutch* with the *Papists* ;” and all Gaols were filled with those who were every Hour apprehended upon that Jealousy ; or rather upon some Evidence that They were guilty of the Crime. And the People were so sottish, that They believed that all the *French* in the Town (which no Doubt were a very great Number) were drawn into a Body, to prosecute those by the Sword who were preserved from the Fire : And the Inhabitants of a whole Street have ran in a great Tumult one Way, upon the Rumour that the *French* were marching at the other End of it ; so terrified Men were with their own Apprehensions.

WHEN the Night, though far from being a quiet one, had somewhat lessened the Consternation, the first Care the King took was, that the Country might speedily supply Markets in all Places, that They who had saved themselves from burning might not be in Danger of starving ; and if there had not been extraordinary Care and Diligence used, many would have perished that Way. The vast Destruction of Corn, and all other Sorts of Provisions, in those Parts where the Fire had prevailed, had not only left all that People destitute of all that was to be eat or drank ; but the Bakers and Brewers, which inhabited the other Parts which were unhurt, had forsaken their Houses, and carried away all that was portable : Insomuch as many Days passed, before They were enough in their Wits and in their Houses to fall to their Occupations ; and those Parts of the Town which God had spared and preserved were many Hours without any Thing to eat, as well as They who were in the Fields. And yet it can hardly be conceived, how great a Supply of all Kinds was brought from all Places within four and twenty Hours. And which was more miraculous, in four Days, in all the Fields about the Town, which had seemed covered with those whose Habitations were burned, and with the Goods which They had saved, there was scarce a Man to be seen : All found Shelter in so short a Time, either in those Parts which remained

mained of the City and in the Suburbs, or in the neighbour Villages ; all Kind of People expreffing a marvellous Charity towards thofe who appeared to be undone. And very many, with more Expedition than ⁽³⁵²⁾ can be conceived, fet up little Sheds of Brick and Timber upon the Ruins of their own Houfes, where They chofe rather to inhabit than in more convenient Places, though They knew They could not long refide in thofe new Buildings.

THE King was not more troubled at any Particular, than at the Imagination which poffeffed the Hearts of fo many, that all this Mifchief had fallen out by a real and formed Conſpiracy ; which, albeit He ſaw no Colour to believe, He found very many intelligent Men, and even ſome of his own Council, who did really believe it. Whereupon He appointed the Privy Council to fit both Morning and Evening, to examine all Evidencce of that Kind that ſhould be brought before them, and to fend for any Perſons who had been committed to Priſon upon ſome Evidence that made the greateſt Noiſe ; and ſent for the Lord Chief Juſtice, who was in the Country, to come to the Town for the better Examination of all Suggeſtions and Allegations of that Kind, there having been ſome malicious Report ſcattered about the Town, “ that the Court had “ ſo great a Prejudice againſt any Kind of Teſtimony “ of ſuch a Conſpiracy, that They diſcountenanced all “ Witneſſes who came before them to teſtify what “ They knew ;” which was without any Colour of Truth. Yet many, who were produced as if their Teſtimony would remove all Doubts, made ſuch ſenſeleſs Relations of what They had been told, without knowing the Condition of the Perſons who told them, or where to find them, that it was a hard Matter to forbear ſmiling at their Evidence. Some *Frenchmens* Houſes had been ſearched, in which had been found many of thoſe Shells for Squibs and other Fireworks, frequently uſed in Nights of Joy and Triumph ; and the Men were well known, and had lived many Years there

there by that Trade, and had no other: And one of these was the King's Servant, and employed by the Office of Ordnance for making Grenades of all Kinds, as well for the Hand as for Mortarpieces. Yet these Men were looked upon as in the Number of the Conspirators, and remained still in Prison till their Neighbours solicited for their Liberty. And it cannot be enough wondered at, that in this general Rage of the People no Mischief was done to the Strangers, that no one of them was assassinated outright, though many were sorely beaten and bruised.

THERE was a very odd Accident that confirmed many in what They were inclined to believe, and startled others, who thought the Conspiracy impossible, since no Combination not very discernible and discovered could have effected that Mischief, in which the immediate Hand of God was so visible. Amongst many *Frenchmen* who had been sent to *Newgate*, there was one *Hubert*, a young Man of five or six and twenty Years of Age, the Son of a famous Watchmaker in the City of *Roan*; and this Fellow had wrought in the same Profession with several Men in *London*, and had for many Years both in *Roan* and in *London* been looked upon as distracted. This Man confessed "that He" had set the first House on Fire, and that He had been "hired in *Paris* a Year before to do it: That there" were three more combined with him to do the same "Thing, and that They came over together into *England* to put it in Execution in the Time of the" Plague; but when They were in *London*, He and "two of his Companions went into *Sweden*, and re-" turned from thence in the latter End of *August*, and "He resolved to undertake it; and that the two others" went away into *France*." Hubert's
strange Con-
fession.

THE whole Examination was so senseless, that the Chief Justice, who was not looked upon as a Man who wanted Rigour, did not believe any Thing He said. He was asked, "who it was in *Paris* that suborned" him to this Action: To which He answered, "that" He

“He did not know, having never seen him before;” and in the enlarging upon that Point He contradicted himself in many Particulars. Being asked “what Money He had received to perform a Service of so much Hazard,” He said, “He had received but a *Pistole*, but was promised five *Pistoles* more when He should have done his Work;” and many such unreasonable Things, that Nobody present credited any Thing He said. However They durst not flight the Evidence, but put him to a Particular, in which He so fully confirmed all that He had said before, that They were surpris’d with Wonder, and knew not afterwards what to say or think. They asked him, “if He knew the Place where He first put Fire;” He answered, “that He knew it very well, and would shew it to any Body.” Upon this the Chief Justice, and many Aldermen who sat with him, sent a Guard of substantial Citizens with the Prisoner, that He might shew them the House; and They first led him to a Place at some Distance from it, and asked him “if that were it;” to which He answered presently, “No, it was lower, nearer to the *Thames*.” The House and all which were near it were so covered and buried in Ruins, that the Owners themselves, without some infallible Mark, could very hardly have said where their own Houses had stood: But this Man led them directly to the Place, described how it stood, the Shape of the little Yard, the Fashion of the Door and Windows, and where He first put the Fire; and all this with such Exactness, that They who had dwelt long near it could not so perfectly have described all Particulars.

THIS silenced all farther Doubts. And though the Chief Justice told the King, “that all his Discourse was so disjointed that He did not believe him guilty;” nor was there one Man who prosecuted or accused him: Yet upon his own Confession, and so sensible a Relation of all that He had done, accompanied with so many Circumstances (though without the least Shew
of

of Compunction or Sorrow for what He said He had done, nor yet seeming to justify or to take Delight in it; but being asked whether He was not sorry for the Wickedness, and whether He intended to do so much, He gave no Answer at all, or made Reply to what was said; and with the same Temper died), the Jury found him guilty, and He was executed accordingly. And though no Man could imagine any Reason why a Man ^{Upon which He is executed,} should so desperately throw away his Life; which He might have saved though He had been guilty, since He was only accused upon his own Confession; yet neither the Judges nor any present at the Trial did believe him guilty, but that He was a poor distracted Wretch weary of his Life, and chose to part with it this Way. Certain it is, that upon the strictest Examination that could be afterwards made by the King's Command, and then by the Diligence of the House, that upon the general Jealousy and Rumour made a Committee, that was very diligent and solicitous to make that Discovery, there was never any probable Evidence (that poor Creature's only excepted) that there was any other Cause of that woful Fire, than the Displeasure of God Almighty: The first Accident of the Beginning in a Baker's House, where there was so great a Stock of Faggots, and the Neighbourhood of much combustible Matter, of Pitch and Rosin and the like, led it in an Instant from House to House through *Thames Street*, with the Agitation of so terrible a Wind to scatter and disperse it.

LET the Cause be what it would, the Effect was very terrible; for above two Parts of three of that great City were burned to Ashes, and those the most rich and wealthy Parts of the City, where the greatest Warehouses and the best Shops stood. The Royal⁴⁾ *Exchange* with all the Streets about it, *Lombard-Street*, *Cheapside*, *Paternoster Row*, *St. Paul's Church*, and almost all the other Churches in the City, with the *Old Bailey*, *Ludgate*, all *Paul's Church-Yard* even to the *Thames*, and the greatest Part of *Fleet Street*, all which were

were Places the best inhabited, were all burned without one House remaining.

The inestimable Loss sustained by the Fire.

THE Value or Estimate of what that devouring Fire consumed, over and above the Houses, could never be computed in any Degree: For besides that the first Night (which in a Moment swept away the vast Wealth of *Thames Street*) there was not any Thing that could be preserved in Respect of the Suddenness and Amazement (all People being in their Beds till the Fire was in their Houses, and so could save Nothing but themselves), the next Day with the Violence of the Wind increased the Distraction; nor did many believe that the Fire was near them, or that They had Reason to remove their Goods, till it was upon them and rendered it impossible. Then it fell out at a Season in the Year, the Beginning of *September*, when very many of the substantial Citizens and other wealthy Men were in the Country, whereof many had not left a Servant in their Houses, thinking themselves upon all ordinary Accidents more secure in the Goodness and Kindness of their Neighbours, than They could be in the Fidelity of a Servant; and whatsoever was in such Houses was entirely consumed by the Fire, or lost as to the Owners. And of this *Classis* of absent Men, when the Fire came where the Lawyers had Houses, as They had in many Places, especially *Serjeants-Inn* in *Fleet-Street*, with that Part of the *Inner-Temple* that was next it and *White-Friars*, there was scarce a Man to whom those Lodgings appertained who was in Town: So that whatsoever was there, their Money, Books and Papers, besides the Evidences of many Mens Estates deposited in their Hands, were all burned or lost, to a very great Value. But of particular Mens Losses could never be made any Computation.

IT was an incredible Damage that was and might rationally be computed to be sustained by one small Company, the Company of Stationers, in Books, Paper, and the other lesser Commodities which are vendible in that Corporation, which amounted to no less than

than two hundred thousand Pounds: In which prodigious Loss there was one Circumstance very lamentable. All those who dwelt near *Paul's* carried their Goods, Books, Paper, and the like, as others of greater Trades did their Commodities, into the large Vaults which were under *St. Paul's Church*, before the Fire came thither: Which Vaults, though all the Church above the Ground was afterwards burned, with all the Houses round about, still stood firm and supported the Foundation, and preserved all that was within them; until the Impatience of those who had lost their Houses, and whatsoever They had else, in the Fire, made them very desirous to see what They had saved, upon which all their Hopes were founded to repair the rest.

It was the fourth Day after the Fire ceased to flame, though it still burned in the Ruins, from whence there was still an intolerable Heat, when the Booksellers especially, and some other Tradesmen, who had deposited all They had preserved in the greatest and most spacious Vault, came to behold all their Wealth, which to that Moment was safe: But the Doors were no sooner opened, and the Air from without fanned the strong Heat within, but first the dryest and most combustible Matters broke into a Flame, which consumed all, of what Kind soever, that till then had been unhurt there. Yet They who had committed their Goods to some lesser Vaults, at a Distance from that greater, had better Fortune; and having learned from the second Ruin of their Friends to have more Patience, attended till the Rain fell, and extinguished the Fire in all Places, and cooled the Air: And then They securely opened the Doors, and received all from thence that They had there.

If so vast a Damage as two hundred thousand Pounds befell that little Company of Stationers in Books and Paper and the like, what shall we conceive was lost in Cloth (of which the Country Clothiers lost all that They had brought up to *Blackwell-Hall* against

Michaelmas, which was all burned with that fair Structure), in Silks of all Kinds, in Linen, and those richer Manufactures? Not to speak of Money, Plate and Jewels, whereof some were recovered out of the Ruins of those Houses which the Owners took Care to watch, as containing Somewhat that was worth the looking for, and in which Deluge there were Men ready enough to fish.

THE Lord Mayor, though a very honest Man, was much blamed for Want of Sagacity in the first Night of the Fire, before the Wind gave it much Advancement: For though He came with great Diligence as soon as He had Notice of it, and was present with the first, yet having never been used to such Spectacles, his Consternation was equal to that of other Men, nor did He know how to apply his Authority to the remedying the present Distress; and when Men who were less terrified with the Object pressed him very earnestly, "that He would give Order for the present pulling down those Houses which were nearest, and by which the Fire climbed to go farther" (the doing whereof at that Time might probably have prevented much of the Mischief that succeeded), He thought it not safe Counsel, and made no other Answer, "than that He durst not do it without the Consent of the Owners." His Want of Skill was the less wondered at, when it was known afterwards, that some Gentlemen of the *Inner-Temple* would not endeavour to preserve the Goods which were in the Lodgings of absent Persons, nor suffer others to do it, "because," They said, "it was against the Law to break up any Man's Chamber."

THE so sudden Repair of those formidable Ruins, and the giving so great Beauty to all Deformity (a Beauty and a Lustre that City had never before been acquainted with), is little less wonderful than the Fire that consumed it.

IT was hoped and expected that this prodigious and universal Calamity, for the Effects of it covered the

whole

whole Kingdom, would have made Impression, and produced some Reformation in the Licence of the Court: For as the Pains the King had taken Night and Day during the Fire, and the Dangers He had exposed himself to, even for the saving the Citizens Goods, had been very notorious, and in the Mouths of all Men, with good Wishe and Prayers for him; so his Majesty had been heard during that Time to speak with great Piety and Devotion of the Displeasure that God was provoked to. And no Doubt the deep Sense of it did raise many good Thoughts and Purposes in his Royal Breast. But He was narrowly watched and looked to, that such melancholick Thoughts might not long possess him, the Consequence and Effect whereof was like to be more grievous than that of the Fire itself; of which that loose Company that was too much cherished, even before it was extinguished, discoursed as of an Argument for Mirth and Wit to describe the Wildness of the Confusion all People were in; in which the Scripture itself was used with equal Liberty, when They could apply it to their prophane Purposes. And Mr. *May* presumed to assure the King, “that this was the greatest Blessing
 “that God had ever conferred upon him, his Restoration only excepted: For the Walls and Gates be-
 “ing now burned and thrown down of that rebellious
 “City, which was always an Enemy to the Crown,
 “his Majesty would never suffer them to repair and
 “build them up again to be a *Bit in his Mouth and a*
 “*Bridle upon his Neck*; but would keep all open, that
 “his Troops might enter upon them whenever He
 “thought necessary for his Service, there being no
 “other Way to govern that rude Multitude but by
 “Force.”

The King seriously affected with this Calumny.

Measures taken to efface such good Impressions in him.

THIS Kind of Discourse did not please the King, but was highly approved by the Company; and for the Wit and Pleasantness of it was repeated in all Companies, infinitely to the King's Disservice, and corrupted the Affections of the Citizens and of the Coun-

try, who used and assumed the same Liberty to publish the Profaneness and Atheism of the Court. And as Nothing was done there in private, so it was made more publick in Pasquils and Libels, which were as bold with Reflections of the broadest Nature upon the King himself, and upon those in whose Company He was most delighted, as upon the meanest Person.

ALL Men of Virtue and Sobriety, of which there were very many in the King's Family, were grieved and heartbroken with hearing what They could not choose but hear, and seeing many Things which They could not avoid the seeing. There were few of the Council that did not to one another lament the Excesses, which must in Time be attended with fatal Consequences, and for the present did apparently lessen the Reverence to the King, that is the best Support of his Royalty: But few of them had the Courage to say that to his Majesty, which was not so fit to be said to any Body else. Nor can it be denied, that his Majesty did, upon all Occasions, receive those Advertisements from those who presented them to him, with Patience and Benignity, and without the least Shew of Displeasure; though the Persons concerned endeavoured no one Thing more than to persuade him, "that it was
 " the highest Presumption imaginable in the Privy
 " Council to believe, that They had any Jurisdiction
 " in the Court, or ought to censure the Manners of it.

*And to lessen
 his Esteem of
 the Privy
 Council.*

NOR were all those Endeavours without making some Impression upon his Majesty, who rather esteemed some particular Members of it, than was inclined to believe that the Body of it ought to receive a Reverence from the People, or be looked upon as a vital Part of the Government: In which his Majesty (as hath been often said before) by the ill Principles He had received in *France*, and the accustomed Liberty of his Bedchamber, was exceedingly and unhappily mistaken. For by the Constitution of the Kingdom, and the very Laws and Customs of the Nation, as the Privy Council and every Member of it is of the King's
 sole

sole Choice and Election of him to that Trust (for the greatest Office in the State, though conferred likewise by the King himself, doth not qualify the Officer to be of the Privy Council, or to be present in it, before by a new Affignation that Honour is bestowed on him, and that He be sworn of the Council); so the Body of it is the most sacred, and hath the greatest Authority in the Government of the State, next the Person of the King himself, to whom all other Powers are equally subject: And no King of *England* can so well secure his own just Prerogative, or preserve it from Violation, as by a strict defending and supporting the Dignity of his Privy Council.

WHEN it was too much taken Notice of, that the King himself had not that Esteem or Consideration of the Council that was due to it, what They did or ordered to be done was less valued by the People; and that Disrespect every Day improved by the Want of Gravity and Justice and Constancy in the Proceedings there, the Resolutions of one Day being reversed or altered the next, either upon some Whispers in the King's Ear, or some new Fancy in some of those Counsellors, who were always of one Mind against all former Orders and Precedents; the Pride and insolent Humour of Sir *William Coventry* taking not so much Delight in any Thing, as to cross and oppose whatsoever the Chancellor or the Treasurer advised, and to reverse what had been ordered upon that Ground. And though He had sucked his Milk at the Charge of the Law, no Man was so professed an Enemy to it and to the Professors of it, and shewed so little Respect to any Thing passed and granted under the Great Seal of *England*, but spake against it with the same Confidence as if it had been a common Scroll of no Signification; which Kind of Behaviour in a Person unqualified by any Office to speak much in such an Assembly, as it had never been accustomed, so it would have found much Reprehension there, if it had not been for Respect to the Duke, and if the King himself had not

very often declared himself to be of his Opinion, even in Particulars which himself had caused to be proposed to a contrary Purpose.

ONE Day his Majesty called the Chancellor to him, and complained very much of the Licence that was assumed in the Coffeehouses, which were the Places where the boldest Calumnies and Scandals were raised, and discoursed amongst a People who knew not each other, and came together only for that Communication, and from thence were propagated over the Kingdom; and mentioned some particular Rumours which had been lately dispersed from the Fountains, which on his own Behalf He was enough displeased with, and asked him what was to be done in it.

THE Chancellor concurred with him in the Sense of the Scandal, and the Mischief that must attend the Impunity of such Places, where the foulest Imputations were laid upon the Government, which were held lawful to be reported and divulged to every Body but to the Magistrates, who might examine and punish them; of which there having yet been no Precedent, People generally believed that those Houses had a Charter of Privilege to speak what They would, without being in Danger to be called in Question: And “that it was high Time for his Majesty to apply some “Remedy to such a growing Disease, and to reform “the Understanding of those who believed that no “Remedy could be applied to it. That it would be “fit, either by a Proclamation to forbid all Persons “to resort to those Houses, and so totally to suppress “them; or to employ some Spies, who, being present in the Conversation, might be ready to charge “and accuse the Persons who had talked with most “Licence in a Subject that would bear a Complaint; “upon which the Proceedings might be in such a “Manner, as would put an End to the Confidence that “was only mischievous in those Meetings.” The King liked Both the Expedients, and thought that the last could not justly be made Use of till the former should

should give fair Warning; and commanded him to propose it that same Day in Council, that some Order might be given in it.

THE Chancellor proposed it, as He was required, with such Arguments as were like to move with Men who knew the Inconveniences which arose from those Places; and the King himself mentioned it with Passion, as derogatory to the Government, and directed that the Attorney might prepare a Proclamation for the Suppression of those Houses, in which the Board seemed to agree: When Sir *William Coventry*, who had been heard within few Days before to inveigh with much Fierceness against the Permission of so much seditious Prattle in the Impunity of those Houses, stood up, and said, “that Coffee was a Commodity that yielded the King a good Revenue, and therefore it would not be just to receive the Duties and inhibit the Sale of it, which many Men found to be very good for their Health,” as if it might not be bought and drank but in those licentious Meetings. “That it had been permitted in *Cromwell’s* Time, and that the King’s Friends had used more Liberty of Speech in those Places than They durst do in any other; and that He thought it would be better to leave them as they were, without running the Hazard of Ill being continued notwithstanding his Command to the Contrary.” And upon these Reasons his Majesty was converted, and declined any farther Debate; which put the Chancellor very much out of Countenance, nor knew He how to behave himself.

THE Truth is: He had a very hard Province, and found his Credit every Day to decay with the King; whilst They who prevailed against him used all the Skill and Cunning They had to make it believed, “that his Power with his Majesty was as great as it had ever been, and that all those Things which He most opposed were acted by his Advice.” And whilst They procured all those for whom He had Kindness, or who professed any Respect towards him,

The Chancellor's Interest declines: Whilst the Courtiers affect to represent it at the highest.

to be discountenanced and undervalued, and preferred none but such who were known to have an Aversion for him upon Somewhat that He had, or They had been told that He had, obstructed their Pretences in; They persuaded Men, “that Nobody had any Credit “with the King to dispose of any Place but He.”

THOSE very Men would often profess to him, “that “They were so much afflicted at the King’s Course of “Life, that They even despaired that He would be “able to master those Difficulties which would still “press him;” and would then tell him some Particulars which He himself had said or done, or had been said or done lately in his own Presence, and of which He had never heard before; which gave him Occasion often to blame them, “that They, who had the Opportunity to see and know many Things which He “had no Notice of or could not take any, and foresaw the Consequence that did attend them, did yet “forbear to use the Credit They had with his Majesty, “in advertising him what They thought and heard all “others say;” and He offered “to go with them to “his Majesty, and make a lively Representation to “him of the great Decay of his Reputation with the “People upon his exorbitant Excesses, which God “never would bless:” To all which They were not ashamed to confess, “that They never had nor durst “speak to his Majesty to that Purpose, or in such a “Dialect.” Indeed They were the honestest Men in not doing it, for it had been gross Hypocrisy to have found Fault with those Actions, upon the pursuing whereof They most depended; and the Reformation which They would have been glad to have seen, had no Relation to those inordinate and unlawful Appetites, which were the Root from whence all the other Mischiefs had their Birth. They did not wish that the Lady’s Authority and Power should be lessened, much less extinguished; and that which would have been the most universal Blessing to the whole Kingdom, would have been received by them as the greatest Curse that could befall them.

ONE Day the Chancellor and the Lord *Arlington* were together alone, and the Secretary according to his Custom was speaking soberly of many great Mis-carriages by the Licence of the Court, and how much his Majesty suffered thereby; when the King suddenly came into the Room to them, and after He was satè asked them what They were talking of; to which the Chancellor answered "that He would tell him honestly and truly, "and was not sorry for the Opportunity." And the

Arlington laments to the Chancellor the King's Course of Life: The King enters the Room.

other looking with a very troubled Countenance, He proceeded and said, "that They were speaking of his Majesty, and, as They did frequently, were bewail-

To whom the Chancellor repeats the Discourse.

ing the unhappy Life He lived, both with Respect to himself, who, by the Excess of Pleasures which He indulged to himself, was indeed without the true Delight and Relish of any; and in Respect to his Government, which He totally neglected, and of which the Kingdom was so sensible, that it could not be long before He felt the ill Effects of it. That the People were well prepared and well inclined to obey; but if They found that He either would not or could not command, their Temper would quickly be changed, and He would find less Obedience in all Places, than was necessary for his Affairs: And that it was too evident and visible, that He had already lost very much of the Affection and Reverence the Nation had for him."

He said, "that this was the Subject They two were discoursing upon when his Majesty entered; and that it is the Argument, upon which all those of his Council with whom He had any Conversation did every Day enlarge, when They were together, with Grief of Heart, and even with Tears; and that He hoped that some of them did, with that Duty that became them, represent to his Majesty their own Sense, and the Sense his good Subjects had, of his Condition of living, both with Reference to God who had wrought such Miracles for him, and expected some proportionable Return; and with Re-

ference

“ference to his People, who were in the highest Dis-
 “content. He doubted all Men did not discharge
 “their Duty this Way; and some had confessed to
 “him *that They durst not do it lest They might offend him,*
 “*which* He had assured them often *that They would not*
 “*do, having had so often Experience himself of his Good-*
 “*ness in that Respect*; and that He had the rather ta-
 “ken this Opportunity to make this Representation
 “to him in the Presence of another, which He had
 “never used to do:” And concluded “with beseech-
 “ing his Majesty to believe that which He had often
 “said to him, *that no Prince could be more miserable, nor*
 “*could have more Reason to fear his own Ruin, than He*
 “*who hath no Servants who dare contradict him in his*
 “*Opinions, or advise him against his Inclinations how na-*
 “*tural soever.*”

Arlington
 puts it off with
 Raillery.

THE King heard all this and more to the same Ef-
 fect with his usual Temper (for He was a patient
 Hearer), and spake sensibly, as if He thought that
 much that had been said was with too much Reason;
 when the other, who wished not such an Effect from
 the Discourse, instead of seconding any Thing that had
 been said, made Use of the Warmth the Chancellor
 was in, and of some Expressions He had used, to fall
 into Raillery, which was his best Faculty; with which
 He diverted the King from any farther serious Reflec-
 tions; and Both of them grew very merry with the
 other, and reproached his overmuch Severity, now He
 grew old and considered not the Infirmities of younger
 Men: Which increased the Passion He was in, and pro-
 voked him to say, “that it was observed abroad, that
 “it was a Faculty very much improved of late in the
 “Court, to laugh at those Arguments They could not
 “answer, and which would always be requited with
 “the same Mirth amongst those who were Enemies
 “to it, and therefore it was Pity that it should be so
 “much embraced by those who pretended to be
 “Friends;” and to use some other, too plain, Ex-
 pressions, which it may be were not warily enough
 used,

used, and which the good Lord forgot not to put the King in Mind of, and to descant upon the Presumption, in a Season that was more ripe for such Reflections, which at the present He forebore to do, and for some Time after remembered only in merry Occasions.

THOUGH the King did not yet, nor in a good Time after, appear to dislike the Liberty the Chancellor presumed to take with him (who often told him, 60) “that He knew He made himself grievous to him, “and gavè his Enemies too great Advantages against “him; but that the Conscience of having done his “Duty, and having never failed to inform his Majesty of any Thing that was fit for him to know and “to believe, was the only Support He had to bear “the present Trouble of his Mind, and to prepare “him for those Distresses which He foresaw He was “to undergo:” Which his Majesty heard with great Goodness and Condescension, and vouchsafed still to tell him, “that it was in Nobody’s Power to divert “his Kindness from him”): Yet He found every Day that some Arguments grew less acceptable to him, and that the constant Conversation with Men of great Profaneness, whose Wit consisted in abusing Scripture, and in repeating and acting what the Preachers said in their Sermons, and turning it into Ridicule (a Faculty in which the Duke of *Buckingham* excelled), did much lessen the natural Esteem and Reverence He had for the Clergy; and inclined him to consider them as a Rank of Men that compounded a Religion for their own Advantage, and to serve their own Turns. Nor was all He could say to him of Weight enough to make Impression to the Contrary.

AND then He seemed to think, “that Men were “bolder in the examining his Actions and censuring “them than They ought to be:” And once He told him, “that He thought He was more severe against “common Infirmities than He should be; and that “his Wife was not courteous in returning Visits and “Civilities to those who paid her Respect; and that “He

The King complains to the Chancellor of the Liberties taken with his Character.

“ He expected that all his Friends should be very kind
 “ to those who They knew were much loved by him,
 “ and that He thought so much Justice was due
 “ to him.”

*The Chancellor
 seriously
 remonstrates
 with him.*

THE Chancellor, who had never dissembled with him, but on the Contrary had always endeavoured to persuade him to believe, that Diffimulation was the most dishonest and ungentlemanly Quality that could be affected, answered him very roundly, “ that He
 “ might seem not to understand his Meaning, and so
 “ make no Reply to the Discourse He had made : But
 “ that He understood it all, and the Meaning of every
 “ Word of it ; and therefore that it would not become
 “ him to suffer his Majesty to depart with an Opinion,
 “ that what He had said would produce any Alteration
 “ in his Behaviour towards him, or Reformation of
 “ his Manners towards any other Persons.”

“ THAT for the first Part, the Liberty Men took
 “ to speak of him and to censure his Actions, He was
 “ of the Opinion that it was a very great Pre-
 “ sumption, and a Crime very fit to be punished :
 “ For let it be true or false, Men had been always se-
 “ verely chastised for that Licence, because it tended
 “ to Sedition. However He put his Majesty in Mind
 “ of the Example of *Philip of Macedon*, who, when
 “ one of his Servants accused a Person of Condition to
 “ him of having spoken ill of him, and offered to go
 “ himself to the Magistrate and make Proof of it, an-
 “ swered him ; *that the Person He accused was a Man of*
 “ *the greatest Reputation of Wisdom and Integrity in the*
 “ *Kingdom, and therefore it would be fit in the first Place*
 “ *to examine, whether himself (the King) had not done*
 “ *Somewhat by which He had deserved to be spoken of :*
 “ Indeed this Way the best Men would often receive
 “ Benefit from their worst Enemies. For the Matter
 “ itself,” He said, “ He need make no Apology :
 “ For that it was notoriously known, that He had
 “ constantly given it in Charge to all the Judges, to
 “ make diligent Inquiry into Misdemeanours and
 Transgressions

“ Transgressions of that Magnitude, and to punish
“ those who were guilty in the most exemplary Man-
“ ner; and that He took not more Pains any Way,
“ than to preserve in the Hearts of the People that
“ Veneration for his Person that is due to his Dignity,
“ and to persuade many who appeared afflicted with
“ the Reports They heard, *that They heard more than
“ was true; and that the suppressing all Reports of that
“ Kind was the Duty of every good Subject, and would con-
“ tribute more towards the reforming any Thing that in
“ Truth is amiss, than the propagating the Scandal by
“ spreading it in Discourses could do.* However that all
“ this which was his Duty, and but his Duty, did not
“ make it unfit for him, or any other under his Ob-
“ ligations, in fit Seasons to make a lively Represen-
“ tation to his Majesty of what is done, and how se-
“ cretly soever, that cannot be justified or excused;
“ and of the Untruths and Scandals which spring from
“ thence to his irreparable Dishonour and Prejudice.”

“ FOR the other Part, of Want of Ceremony and
“ Respect to those who were loved and esteemed by
“ his Majesty, He might likewise avoid enlarging
“ upon that Subject, by putting his Majesty in Mind,
“ that He had the Honour to serve him in a Province
“ that excused him from making Visits, and exempt-
“ ed him from all Ceremonies of that Kind. But He
“ would not shelter himself under such a general De-
“ fence, when He perceived that his Majesty had in
“ the Reprehension a particular Intention: And there-
“ fore He confessed ingenuously to his Majesty, that
“ He did deny himself many Liberties, which in them-
“ selves might be innocent enough and agreeable to
“ his Person, because they would not be decent or
“ agreeable to the Office He held, which obliged him
“ for his Majesty’s Honour, and to preserve him from
“ the Reproach of having put a light Person into a grave
“ Place, to have the more Care of his own Carriage
“ and Behaviour. And that, as it would reflect upon
“ his Majesty himself, if his Chancellor was known or
“ thought

“ thought to be of dissolute and debauched Manners,
 “ which would make him as incapable as unworthy
 “ to do him Service; so it would be a Blemish and
 “ Taint upon him to give any Countenance, or to pay
 “ more than ordinary, curfory and unavoidable Civi-
 “ lities, to Persons infamous for any Vice, for which
 “ by the Laws of God and Man They ought to be
 “ odious, and to be exposed to the Judgment of the
 “ Church and State. And that He would not for his
 “ own Sake and for his own Dignity, to how low a
 “ Condition soever He might be reduced, stoop to
 “ such a Condescension as to have the least Commerce,
 “ or to make the Application of a Visit, to any such
 “ Person, for any Benefit or Advantage that it might
 “ bring to him. He did beseech his Majesty not to
 “ believe, that He hath a Prerogative to declare Vice
 “ Virtue; or to qualify any Person who lives in a Sin
 “ and avows it, against which God himself hath pro-
 “ nounced Damnation, for the Company and Conver-
 “ sation of innocent and worthy Persons. And that
 “ whatever low Obedience, which was in Truth gross
 “ Flattery, some People might pay to what They be-
 “ lieved would be grateful to his Majesty, They had
 “ in their Hearts a perfect Detestation of the Persons
 “ They made Address to: And that for his Part He
 “ was long resolved that his Wife should not be one
 “ of those Courtiers; and that He would himself much
 “ less like her Company, if She put herself into theirs
 “ who had not the same Innocence.”

THE King was not the more pleased for the Defence
 He made, and did not dissemble his Dislike of it,
 without any other Sharpness, than by telling him
 “ that He was in the Wrong, and had an Understand-
 “ ing different from all other Men who had Experi-
 “ ence in the World.” And it is most certain, it was
 an avowed Doctrine, and with great Address daily in-
 sinuated to the King, “ that Princes had many Liber-
 “ ties which private Persons have not; and that a
 “ Lady of Honour who dedicates herself only to please ⁽³⁶²⁾
 “ a King,

“a King, and continues faithful to him, ought not
 “to be branded with any Name or Mark of Infamy,
 “but hath been always looked upon by all Persons
 “wellbred as worthy of Respect:” And to this Purpose
 the History of all the Amours of his Grandfather were
 carefully presented to him, and with what Indignation
 He suffered any Disrespect towards any of his Mistresses.

BUT of all these Artifices the Chancellor had no
 Apprehension, out of the Confidence He had in the
 Integrity of the King's Nature; and that though He
 might be swayed to sacrifice his present Affections to
 his Appetite, He could never be prevailed upon to
 entertain a real Suspicion of his very passionate Affec-
 tion and Duty to his Person. That which gave him
 most Trouble, and many Times made him wish him-
 self in any private Condition separated from the Court,
 was that Unfixedness and Irresolution of Judgment
 that was natural to all his Family of the Male Line,
 which often exposed them all to the Importunities of
 bold, and to the Snares of crafty, Men.

ONE Day the King and the Duke came to the Chan-
 cellor together; and the King told him with a very
 visible Trouble in his Countenance, “that They were
 “come to confer and advise with him upon an Affair One Talbot,
 an Irishman,
 designs to as-
 sassinate the
 Duke of Or-
 mond.
 “of Importance, which exceedingly disquieted them
 “Both. That *Dick Talbot*” (which was the familiar
 Appellation, according to the ill Custom of the Court,
 that most Men gave him) “had a Resolution to as-
 “sassinate the Duke of Ormond. That He had sworn
 “in the Presence of two or three Persons of Honour,
 “*that He would do it in the Revenge of some Injuries*
 “*which, He pretended, He had done his Family: That*
 “*He had much rather fight with him, which He knew the*
 “*Duke would be willing enough to do; but That He should*
 “*never be able to bring to pass; and therefore He would*
 “*take his Revenge in any Way that should offer itself.* And
 “every Body knew that the Man had Courage and
 “Wickedness enough to attempt any Thing like it.
 “That the Duke of Ormond knew well enough that
 “the

“ the Fellow threatened it, and was like enough to act it; but that He thought it below him to apprehend it; And that his Majesty came to the Notice of it by the Earl of *Clancarty*, to whom Sir *Robert Talbot*, the elder Brother of the other, told it, to the End that the Earl might give the Duke Notice of it, and find some Way to prevent it; and the Earl had that Day informed the King of it, as the best Way He could think of to prevent it.” His Majesty said, “ there remained no Doubt to be made of the Truth of it; for there were two or three more of unquestionable Credit who had heard him use the same Expressions: And that He had first spoken with his Brother, whose Servant He was, whom He found equally incensed as himself; and that They came immediately together to consult with him what was to be done.”

*An Account
of this Man's
Family: With
the Characters
of the five
Brothers.*

*Sir Robert
Talbot, the
eldest.*

THE Chancellor knew all the Brothers well, and was believed to have too much Prejudice to them all. They were all of an *Irish* Family but of ancient *English* Extraction, which had always inhabited within that Circle that was called the *Pale*; which, being originally an *English* Plantation, was in so many hundred Years for the most Part degenerated into the Manners of the *Irish*, and rose and mingled with them in the late Rebellion: And of this Family there were two distinct Families, who had competent Estates, and lived in many Descents in the Rank of Gentlemen of Quality; and those Brothers were all the Sons, or the Grandsons, of one who was a Judge in *Ireland*, and esteemed a learned Man. The eldest was Sir *Robert Talbot*, who was by much the best; that is, the rest were much worse Men: A Man, whom the Duke of *Ormond* most esteemed of those who had been in Rebellion, as one who had less Malice than most of the rest, and had recommended to the King as a Person fit for his Favour. But because He did not ask all on his Behalf, which He must have done for a Man entirely innocent, this Refusal was looked upon as the highest Disobligation.

THE

THE second Brother was a *Jesuit*, who had been Peter the second, a Jesuit. very troublesome to the King abroad, and had behaved himself in so insolent a Manner, that his Majesty had forbidden him his Court; after which He went into *England*, and applied himself to the ruling Power there, and was by that sent into *Spain*, at the Time when the Treaty was at *Fuenterabia* between the two Crowns, to procure that *England* might be included in that Peace, and the King excluded, and not to be suffered to remain in *Flanders*. Of all which his Majesty having Advertisment, sent positive Orders to Sir *Harry Bennet* his Resident then in *Madrid* to complain of him, and to desire *Don Lewis de Haro*, that He might receive no Countenance in that Court. But the *Jesuit* had better and more powerful Recommendation; and was not only welcome there, but (which was very strange, considering his Talent of Understanding) in a short Time got so much Interest in the Resident, that He received him into all Kind of Familiarity and Trust, and undertook to reconcile the King to him, and was as good as his Word: And from the Time of his Majesty's Return, or rather from the Return of Sir *Harry Bennet*, He was as much and as busy in the Court as if He were a domestick Servant. And after the Queen came to *Whitehall*, He was admitted one of her Almoners; and walked with the same or more Freedom in the King's House (and in Clergy Habit) than any of his Majesty's Chaplains did; who did not presume to be seen in the Galleries and other reserved Rooms, where He was conversant with the same Confidence as if He were of the Bedchamber.

THE third Brother was *Gilbert*, who was called Colonel *Talbot* from some Command He had with the Rebels against the King. And He had likewise been Gilbert the third, called Colonel Talbot with the King in *Flanders*, that is had lived in *Antwerp* and *Brussels* whilst the King was there; and being a half-witted Fellow did not meddle with any Thing nor angered any Body, but found a Way to get good Cloaths and to play, and was looked upon as a Man

of Courage, having fought a Duel or two with stout Men.

Thomas, the
fourth, a
Franciscan
Friar.

THE fourth Brother was a *Franciscan Friar*, of Wit enough, but of so notorious Debauchery, that He was frequently under severe Discipline by the Superiours of his Order for his scandalous Life, which made him hate his Habit, and take all Opportunities to make Journies into *England* and *Ireland*: But not being able to live there, He was forced to return and put on his abhorred Habit, which He always called his *Fool's Coat*, and came seldom into those Places where He was known, and so wandered into *Germany* and *Flanders*, and took all Opportunities to be in the Places where the King was; and so He came to *Cologne* and *Brussels* and *Bruges*, and being a merry Fellow, was the more made of for laughing at and contemning his Brother the *Jesuit*, who had not so good natural Parts, though by his Education He had more Sobriety, and lived without Scandal in his Manners. He went by the Name of *Tom Talbot*, and after the King's Return was in *London* in his *Man's Cloaths* (as He called them), with the natural Licence of an *Irish Friar* (which are a People, for the most Part, of the whole Creation the most sottish and the most brutal), and against his Obedience, and all Orders of his Superiours, who interdicted him to say Mass.

Richard the
fifth, the Per-
son concerned.

THE fifth Brother was this *Dick Talbot*, who gave the King and the Duke the Trouble mentioned before. He was brought into *Flanders* first by *Daniel O Neile*, as one who was willing to assassinate *Cromwell*; and He made a Journey into *England* with that Resolution not long before his Death, and after it returned into *Flanders* ready to do all that He should be required. He was a very handsome young Man, wore good Cloaths, and was without Doubt of a clear, ready Courage, which was Virtue enough to recommend a Man to the Duke's good Opinion; which, with more Expedition than could be expected, He got to that Degree, that He was made of his Bedchamber; and,
from

from that Qualification, embarked himself after the King's Return in the Pretences of the *Irish*, with such an unusual Confidence, and upon private Contracts with very scandalous Circumstances, that the Chancellor had sometimes at the Council-Table been obliged to give him severe Reprehensions, and often desired the Duke to withdraw his Countenance from him. He had likewise declared very loudly against the *Jesuit*, and, though He had made many Addresses unto him by Letters and by some Friends who had Credit with him, would never from the Time of the King's Return be persuaded to speak with him, and had once prevailed with the King so far, that He was forbid to come to the Court; but He had a Friend, who after some Time got that Restraint off again. The Chancellor had likewise observed the *Friar* to be too frequently in the Galleries, and sometimes drunk there, and caused him to be forbid to come into the Court: And the eldest Brother, towards whom He had rather Kindness than Prejudice, finding many Obstructions in his Pretences, was persuaded to think him not his Friend. And so He got the Reproach of being an Enemy to the whole Family.

THIS Consideration did really affect the Chancellor, so that He appeared more reserved and more wary in this Particular proposed by the King and by the Duke, than He used to be. He said, "that in many Respects He was not so fit to advise in this Particular as other Men were. Though this Man's Behaviour was so scandalous that it deserved exemplary Punishment, yet He did not conceive any present Danger from it: That He would deny it and repent it, and give any other Satisfaction that would be required or assigned; and then his Majesty and the Duke would be prevailed with to take off their Displeasure. And therefore it would be better not to make such a Matter publick, which, considering the Person and the Circumstances, would make a deep Impression upon the Minds of all wise Men; than, after the World

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" takes

“takes Notice of it, to pass it over with a light and
 “ordinary Punishment.” The King interrupted him
 as He was going on, and told him, “there was no
 “Danger of that, and that He would deal freely with
 “him. That as the Offence was in itself unpardon-
 “able, so He and his Brother were resolved to take
 “this Opportunity and Occasion to free themselves
 “from the Importunity of the whole Family: That
 “all the Brothers were naughty Fellows, and had no
 “good Meaning.” And thereupon his Majesty en-
 larged with much Sharpness upon the *Jesuit* and *Friar*,
 with Charges upon Both very weighty and unanswer-
 able; and the Duke upon this Man who was the Sub-
 ject of the Debate: And Both concluded, “that They
 “should be in great Ease by the Absence of all of them,
 “which should be enjoined as soon as a Resolution
 “should be taken in this Particular.”

THE Chancellor knew that there was Somewhat
 else, which was not so fit to be mentioned, that had
 offended them Both as much; and thought He had
 Reason to believe that They would be Both resolute in
 the Punishment, and that They had deliberated it too⁽³⁶⁾
 long to depart from the Prosecution. He therefore
 advised, “that the Gentleman should be presently ap-
 “prehended and examined upon the Words, which
 “some Witness should be ready to affirm: And that
 “thereupon He should be sent to the *Tower*, and the
 “next Day that his Majesty should inform the Privy
 “Council of the Whole, which without Question
 “would give Direction to his Attorney General to
 “prosecute this foul Misdemeanour in such a Manner,
 “that should put this Gentleman in such a Condition,
 “that He should not trouble the Court with his At-
 “tendance; and other Men should by his Example
 “find, that their Tongues are not their own, to be
 “employed according to their own malicious Plea-
 “sures.”

*He is sent to
 the Tower by
 the Chancel-
 lor's Advice.*

THE Person was the same Night sent to the *Tower*;
 and both the King and the Duke declared themselves,

in the Presence of their Servants and many others, to be as highly offended, and as positively resolved to take as much Vengeance upon the impudent Presumption of the Offender as the Rigour of the Law would inflict, as ever They had done upon any Occurrence and Accident in their Lives: And if They had had Persons enough about them, who out of a just Sense of their Honour would have confirmed them in the Judgment They were of, it would have been in Nobody's Power to have shaken them. But as from the first Day of his Commitment, the Servants near the Person both of the King and Duke presumed, against all ancient Order (which made it a Crime in any to perform those Civilities to Persons declared to be under his Majesty's Displeasure), to visit Mr. *Talbot*, and to censure those who had advised his Commitment; so after some few Days, when They thought the Duke's Passion in some Degree abated, the Lord *Berkley* confidently told the Duke, "that He suffered much in the Opinion of the World, "in permitting a Servant of so near Relation to be "committed to Prison for a few hasty and unadvised "Words to which He had been provoked; and that "it was well enough known that it was by the Contrivement and Advice of the Chancellor, who was "taken Notice of to be an Enemy to that whole Family, nor any great Friend to any of his Highness's "Servants; and if He had that Credit to remove any "of them from his Person, there would in a short "Time be few of them found in his Court."

THIS was seconded by all the Standers by; and though it did not suddenly work its Effect, yet the continual pressing it by Degrees weakened the Resolution: And the same Offices being with equal Importunity performed towards the King, and with the more Zeal after it was published that the Whole was done by the Chancellor's Procurement; both his Majesty and his Highness grew weary of their Severity, and, upon Conference together, resolved to interpose

*But soon re-
leased by the
Artifice of the
Chancellor's
Enemies.*

with the Duke for his Remission, who disdained to make himself a Prosecutor in such a Transgression. And so the Prisoner returned to *Whitehall*, with the Advantage which Men who have been unjustly imprisoned usually receive: And all Men thought He triumphed over the Chancellor, who, how unconcerned soever, knew every Day the less how to behave himself. And this unhappy Constitution grew so notorious (for there were too many Instances of it), that all Men grew less resolute in Matters which concerned the King and drew the Displeasure of others upon them, which was like to prove unprofitable to them.

*The Parlia-
ment meets.
The King's
Speech.*

ACCORDING to their last Prorogation the Parliament convened again upon the one and twentieth of *September*; when the King told them, "that He was
"very glad to meet so many of them together again,
"and thanked God for their meeting together again
"in that Place." He said, "little Time had passed (366
"since They were almost in Despair of having that
"Place left to meet in. They saw the dismal Ruins
"the Fire had made; and Nothing but a Miracle of
"God's Mercy could have preserved what was left
"from the same Destruction."

HIS Majesty told them, "He need make no Excuse
"to them for having dispensed with their Attendance
"in *April*; He was confident They all thanked him for
"it: The Truth is, He desired to put them to as little
"Trouble as He could; and He could tell them truly,
"He desired to put them to as little Cost as was possi-
"ble. He wished with all his Heart that He could
"bear the whole Charge of the War himself, and that
"his Subjects should reap the whole Benefit of it to
"themselves. But He had two great and powerful
"Enemies, who used all the Ways They could, fair
"and foul, to make all the World to concur with
"them; and the War was more chargeable by that
"Conjunction, than any Body thought it would have
"been. He needed not tell them the Success of
"the Summer, in which God had given them great
"Success;

“ Success; and no Question the Enemy had under-
 “ gone great Losses; and if it had pleased God to have
 “ withheld his late Judgment by Fire, He had been
 “ in no ill Condition.” His Majesty confessed, “ that
 “ They had given him very large Supplies for the car-
 “ rying on the War: And yet,” He told them,
 “ that if He had not, by anticipating his own Reve-
 “ nue, raised a very great Sum of Money, He had
 “ not been able to have set out the Fleet the last
 “ Spring; and He had some Hope upon the same
 “ Credit to be able to pay off the great Ships as they
 “ should come in. They would consider what was to
 “ be done next, when They were well informed of the
 “ Expence: And He would leave it to their Wisdoms,
 “ to find out the best Expedients for the carrying on
 “ the War with as little Burden to the People as was
 “ possible.” He said, “ He would add no more than
 “ to put them in Mind, that their Enemies were very
 “ insolent; and if They were able the last Year to per-
 “ suade their miserable People whom They misled, *that*
 “ *the Contagion had so wasted the Nation, and impove-*
 “ *riched the King, that He would not be able to set out*
 “ *any Fleet*; how would They be exalted with this last
 “ Impoverishment of the City, and condemn all rea-
 “ sonable Conditions of Peace? And therefore He
 “ could not doubt but that They would provide ac-
 “ cordingly.”

INDEED the King did not till now understand the
 Damage He had sustained by the Plague, much less
 what He must sustain by the Fire. Monies could nei-
 ther be collected nor borrowed where the Plague had
 prevailed, which was over all the City and over a great
 Part of the Country; the Collectors durst not go to
 require it or receive it. Yet the Fountains remained
 yet clear, and the Waters would run again: But this
 late Conflagration had dried up or so stopped the very
 Fountains, that there was no Prospect when they
 would flow again. The two great Branches of the
 Revenue, the Customs and Excise, which was the

great and almost inexhaustible Security to borrow Money upon, were now bankrupt, and would neither bring in Money nor supply Credit: All the Measures by which Computations had been made were so broken, that they could not be brought to meet again. By a Medium of the constant Receipts it had been depended upon, that what had been borrowed upon that Fund would by this Time have been fully satisfied with all the Interest, whereby the Money would have been replaced in the Hands to which it was due, which would have been glad to have laid it out again; and the Security would have remained still in Vigour to be applied to any other Occasions: But now the Plague had routed all those Receipts, especially in *London*, where the great Conduits of those Receipts still ran.⁽³⁶⁷⁾ The Plague and the War had so totally broken and distracted those Receipts, that the Farmers of either had not received enough to discharge the constant Burden of the Officers, and were so far from paying any Part of the Principal that was secured upon it, that it left the Interest unpaid to swell the Principal. And now this Deluge by Fire had dissipated the Persons, and destroyed the Houses, which were liable to the Reimbursement of all Arrears; and the very Stocks were consumed which should carry on and revive the Trade. And the third next considerable Branch of the Revenue, the Chimney-Money, was determined; and the City must be rebuilt before any Body could be required to pay for his Chimnies.

THIS was the true State of the Crown, if all other Inconveniences and casual Expences had been away, and all Application to Things serious had been made by all Persons concerned. And this woful Prospect was in View when the Parliament met again; which came not together with the better Countenance by seeing all Hopes abroad with so sad an Aspect, and all Things at Home (that troubled them much more) appear so desperate in many Respects. Yet within few Days after the King had spoken to them, the House of Com-

mons being most filled with the King's Servants, the Gentlemen of the Country being not yet come, there was a faint Vote procured, "that They would give a Supply to the King proportionable to his Wants," without mentioning any Sum, or which Way it should be raised: Nor from that Minute did They make the least Reflection upon that Engagement in many Months after. Whilst the Enemies, much more exalted than ever, believed, as They had good Cause, that They should reap a much greater Benefit by the Burning of *London* than They had from the Contagion.

WHEN the Numbers of the Members increased, the Parliament appeared much more chagrined than it had hitherto done; and though They made the same Professions of Affection and Duty to the King They had ever done, They did not conceal the very ill Opinion They had of the Court and the continual Riotings there: And the very idle Discourses of some (who were much countenanced) upon the miserable Event of the Fire made them even believe, that the former Jealousies of the City, when They saw their Houses burning at such a Distance from each other, were not without some Foundation, nor without just Apprehension of a Conspiracy, and that it had not been diligently enough examined; and therefore They appointed a Committee, with large Authority to send for and examine all Persons who could give any Information concerning it.

*Discontents in
the House of
Commons.*

*A Committee
appointed to
inquire into
the Causes of
the Fire.*

WHEN any Mention was made of the Declaration They had so lately passed, for giving the King Supply, and "that it was high Time to dispatch it, that all necessary Provisions might be made for the setting out a Fleet against the Spring;" it was answered with Passion, "that the King's Wants must be made first to appear before any Supply must be discussed of: That there were already such vast Sums of Money given to the King, that there was none left in the Country; nor could any Commodities there, upon which They should raise wherewith to

" pay

“ pay their Taxes, be sold for Want of Money, which
 “ was all brought to *London in Specie*, and none left to
 “ carry on the Commerce and Trade in the Country,
 “ where They could not sell their Corn or their Cattle
 “ or their Wool for Half the Value.”

THEY who had not fate in the Parliament at *Oxford* were exceedingly vexed, that there had been so much given there, so soon after the two Millions and a Half had been granted; and said, “ if the King wanted
 “ again already, that He must have been abominably
 “ cheated, which was fit to be examined. That the
 “ Number of the Ships, which had been set out by
 “ the King in several Fleets since the Beginning of this
 “ War, was no Secret; and that there are Men enough
 “ who are acquainted with the Charge of setting out
 “ and manning and victualling Ships, and can make
 “ thereby a reasonable Computation what this vast
 “ Expence can amount to: And that They cannot
 “ but conclude, that if his Majesty hath been honestly
 “ dealt with, there must remain still a very great Pro-
 “ portion of Money to carry on the War, without
 “ Need of imposing more upon the People, till They
 “ are better able to bear it. And therefore that it was
 “ absolutely necessary, that all those, through whose
 “ Hands the Money had passed, should first give an
 “ exact Account of what They had received, and
 “ what and how They had disbursed it: And when
 “ that should appear, it would be seasonable to de-
 “ mand an Addition of Supply, which would be chear-
 “ fully granted.”

AND for the better Expedition of this (for every Body confessed that the Time pressed) it was proposed,
 “ that forthwith a Bill should be prepared, which
 “ should pass into an Act of Parliament, in which such
 “ Commissioners should be appointed as the Houses
 “ should think fit, to examine all Accounts of those
 “ who had received or issued out any Monies for this
 “ War; and where They found any Persons faulty,
 “ and who had broken their Trust, They should be

“ liable

“ liable to such Punishment as the Parliament should
 “ think fit:” And a Committee was presently named
 to prepare such a Bill accordingly. This Proposition <sup>*A Bill brought
in for inspect-
ing publick
Accounts.*</sup>
 found such a Concurrence in the House, that none of
 the Court thought fit to oppose it; and others who
 knew the Method to be new, and liable to just Ex-
 ceptions, thought it to as little Purpose to endeavour
 to divert it: And so all Motions for present Supply
 were to be laid aside till a more favourable Conjun-
 cture; and the Overture had been contrived and put on
 by many who seemed not to like it, which is an Arti-
 fice not unusual in Courts or Parliaments.

THE Persons, who were principally aimed at (for
 no Doubt They believed that others would be compre-
 hended), were Sir *George Carteret* the Treasurer of the
 Navy, through whom all that Expence had passed, who
 had many Enemies upon the Opinion that his Office
 was too great, and the more by the ill Offices Sir *Wil-*
liam Coventry was always ready to do him; and the
 Lord *Ashley*, who was Treasurer of all the Money that
 had been raised upon Prizes, which could not but be
 a great Proportion. The former was a punctual Of-
 ficer and a good Accomptant, and had already passed
 his Account in the Exchequer for two Years, upon
 which He had his *Quietus est*; which was the only
 lawful Way known and practised by all Accomptants
 to the Crown, who can receive a good Discharge no
 other Way: And He was ready to make another
 Year’s Account. But what Method Commissioners
 extraordinary by Act of Parliament would put it into,
 He could not imagine, nor be well satisfied with.
 The other, the Lord *Ashley*, had more Reason to be
 troubled, for He was by his Commission exempted
 from giving any other Account but to the King him-
 self, which Exemption was the only Reason that made
 him so solicitous for the Office; and He well knew
 that there were great Sums issued, which could not be
 put into any publick Account: So that his Perplexity
 in several Respects was not small. And They Both
 applied

applied themselves to the King for his Protection in the Point.

*Upon which
the King con-
sults the pri-
vate Committee*

HIS Majesty was no less troubled, knowing that Both had issued out many Sums upon his Warrants, which He would not suffer to be produced; and called that Committee of the Privy Council with which He used to advise, and complained of this unusual Way of Proceeding in the House of Commons, which would terrify all Men from serving his Majesty in any Receipts; to which Employment Men submitted because They knew what They were to do, and what They were to suffer. If They made their Account according to the known Rules of the Exchequer, their Discharge could not be denied; and if They failed, They knew what Process would be awarded against them. But to account by such Orders as the Parliament should prescribe, and to be liable to such Punishment as the Parliament would inflict, was such an Uncertainty as would deprive them of all Rest and Quiet of Mind; and was in itself so unjust, that his Majesty declared "that He would never suffer it: That He hoped it would never find a Consent in the House of Commons; if it should, that the House of Peers would reject it; but if it should be brought to him, He was resolved never to give his Royal Assent." There was no Man present, who did not seem fully to concur with his Majesty that He should never consent to it: "However that the best Care and Diligence should be used, that it might never be presented to him, but stopped in the Houses; and to that Purpose that the Members should be prepared by giving them Notice of his Pleasure."

*The Chancellor
delivers his
Opinion very
freely.*

THE Chancellor upon this Argument, in which He discerned no Opposition, enlarged himself upon what He had often before put his Majesty in Mind of; "that He could not be too indulgent in the Defence of the Privileges of Parliament; that He hoped He would never violate any of them: But He desired him "to be equally solicitous to prevent the Excesses "in Parliament, and not to suffer them to extend their

"Jurisdiction

“ Jurisdiction to Cafes They have Nothing to do
 “ with; and that to restrain them within their proper
 “ Bounds and Limits is as neceſſary, as it is to pre-
 “ ſerve them from being invaded. That this was ſuch a
 “ new Encroachment as had no Bottom; and the Scars
 “ were yet too freſh and green of thoſe Wounds which
 “ had been inflicted upon the Kingdom from ſuch
 “ Uſurpation.” And therefore He deſired his Majeſty
 “ to be firm in the Reſolution He had taken, and not to
 “ depart from it; and if ſuch a Bill ſhould be brought
 “ up to the Houſe of Peers, He would not fail in doing
 “ his Duty, and ſpeaking freely his Opinion againſt
 “ ſuch Innovations, how many ſoever it might offend.”

All which Diſcourſe of his was in a ſhort Time after
 communicated to thoſe, who would not fail to make
 Uſe of it to his Diſadvantage.

*Which is ſoon
 reported a-
 broad to his
 Prejudice.*

THERE was a Correſpondence by this Time be-
 gun and warmly purſued between ſome diſcontented
 Members of the Houſe of Peers, who thought their
 Parts not enough valued (and the Duke of *Buckingham*
 was in the Head of them), and ſome Members of the
 Houſe of Commons, who made themſelves remark-
 able by oppoſing all Things which were propoſed in
 that Houſe for the King's Service, or which were
 like to be grateful to him, as Sir *Richard Temple*, Mr.
Seymour, and Mr. *Garraway*, and Sir *Robert Howard*;
 who were all bold Speakers, and meant to make them-
 ſelves conſiderable by ſaying, upon all Occaſions, what
 wiſer Men would not, whatever They thought.

THE Duke of *Buckingham* took more Pains than was
 agreeable to his Conſtitution to get an Intereſt in all
 ſuch Perſons, invited them to his Table, pretended to
 have a great Eſteem of their Parts, asked Counſel of
 them, lamented the King's neglecting his Buſineſs,
 and committing it to other People who were not fit for
 it; and then reported all the Licence and Debauchery
 of the Court in the moſt lively Colours, being himſelf
 a frequent Eye and Earwitneſs of it. He had a mortal
 Quarrel with the Lady, and was at this Time ſo much
 in

*The Duke of
 Buckingham
 at the Head of
 the Oppoſition.*

in the King's Displeasure (as He was very frequently), that He forbore going to the Court, and revenged himself upon it by all the merry Tales He could tell of what was done there.

It cannot be imagined, considering the loose Life He led (which was a Life more by Night than by Day) in all the Liberties that Nature could desire or Wit invent, how great an Interest He had in Both Houses of Parliament; that is, how many in Both would follow his Advice, and concur in what He proposed. His Quality and Condescensions, the Pleasantness of his Humour and Conversation, the Extravagance and Sharpness of his Wit, unrestrained by any Modesty or Religion, drew Persons of all Affections and Inclinations to like his Company; and to believe that the Levities and the Vanities would be wrought off by Age, and there would enough of Good be left to become a great Man, and make him useful to his Country, for which He pretended to have a wonderful Affection and Reverence; and that all his Displeasure against the Court proceeded from their declared Malignity against the Liberty of the Subject, and their Desire that the King should govern by the Example of *France*. He had always held Intelligence with the principal Persons of the *Levelling* Party, and professed to desire that Liberty of Conscience might be granted to all; and exercised his Wit with most Licence against the Church, the Law and the Court.

THE King had constant Intelligence of all his Behaviour, and the Liberty He took in his Discourses of him, for which He had Indignation enough: But of this new Stratagem to make himself great in Parliament, and to have a Faction there to disturb his Business, his Majesty had no Apprehension, believing it impossible for the Duke to keep his Mind long bent upon any particular Design, or to keep and observe those Hours and Orders of sleeping and eating, as Men who pretend to Business are obliged to; and that it was more impossible, for him to make and preserve
a Friendship

a Friendship with any serious Persons, whom He could never restrain himself from abusing and making ridiculous, as soon as He was out of their Company. Yet with all these Infirmities and Vices He found a Respect and Concurrence from Men of different Tempers and Talents, and had an incredible Opinion with the People.

THE great Object of his Dislike, Displeasure and ^{His Hatred to the Duke of Ormond.} Hatred was the Duke of *Ormond*, who being his Equal in Title, and Superiour in Credit with the King, and at least equal to him in all other Respects, He looked upon him as his Rival; and that his constant Attendance upon the King through all his Fortunes, was a Reproach to him for not having performed his Duty that Way, and gave him a general Reputation in the Kingdom with all Men who had been faithful to the Crown. The Duke of *Ormond's* younger Son had married his Niece, who was the Heir apparent of his House; to which though He had given his Consent when He saw it was not in his Power to contradict it, yet He pretended that the Duke had made many Promises of Friendship to him which He had not made good; whereas in Truth the other did really desire, and had heartily endeavoured, to do him all the good Offices He could with the King, which some other new Extravagance of his own disappointed and made uneffectual. Let the Ground and Reason be what they will, He did not dissemble to hate the Duke of *Ormond* heartily, and to be willing to undertake the Prosecution of any Complaint against him; of which, in that distempered and disjointed Condition of *Ireland*, there could not be Occasion wanting, as soon as it was known that such a Patron was ready to undertake their Defence. And it cannot be denied (the Spirit of Envy is so powerful), that there were too many, who had no Affection for the Duke of *Buckingham*, who were yet willing that any Thing should be done to the Prejudice of the Duke of *Ormond*, who They thought eclipsed the Nobility of *England*.

THERE had been for many Months a great Murmur, rather than Complaint, “ of the great Damage the Kingdom in general sustained by the Importation of such great Quantities of Irish Cattle, which were bred there for Nothing, and transported for little, that They might well undersell all the Cattle here; and from hence the Breed of Cattle in the Kingdom was totally given over, and thereby the Land would yield no Rent proportionably to what it had ever done: And that this was a principal Cause of the Want of Money in the Country, which could only be remedied by a very strict Act of Parliament, to forbid the Importation of any Sort of Cattle out of *Ireland* into this Kingdom.” And some of them who had most thought of the Matter had prepared a Bill, and brought it into the House of Commons, where it was read. At first it underwent very calm and reasonable Debates. Very many Members of several Counties desired, “ that their Counties might not undergo any Damage for the Benefit of other individual Places.” They professed “ that their Counties had no Land bad enough to breed: But that their great Traffick consisted in buying lean Cattle, and making them fat, and upon this They paid their Rent; and if the bringing over *Irish* Cattle should be restrained, their Counties must be undone.” And this appeared to be the Case of very many Counties in *England*. And the Complaint was of so new a Nature, that it had never been heard of in *England* till some few Months before this Meeting in Parliament; only it had been mentioned in the Parliament at *Oxford*, as a Grievance to the Northern Counties, which complained no less of the *Scots* than of the *Irish* Cattle; and the Bill that was at this Time brought into the House of Commons provided as well against the one as the other.

A Bill brought into the House of Commons against the Importation of Irish Cattle.

WHETHER this Complaint originally proceeded from the Damage which the People of some Counties sustained, or thought They sustained, which made their Members in Parliament press the Restraint with much

much Earnestness (and it cannot be denied that many worthy Men were passionate in it, who were not like to be engaged in particular and factious Contests, to comply with the Humours of other Men), is not easy to other Men to judge of than those who sat in the Houses, and observed the Manner and the Passion in which those Debates were carried. And it cannot be denied but that, how innocently soever the Grievance first came to be mentioned, and to be recommended to the Consideration and Wisdom of the House, the carrying it on was with unusual Heat and Passion, different from what appeared in the Transaction of any other Business, that had an Aspect only to the Publick: And it was observed, that the Cabal that is mentioned before, between some of the House of Peers and of the House of Commons, began at this Time to meet more frequently, and were united in the driving on this Affair; which suddenly grew to be insisted on as of that Importance, that there could be no Debate begun with Reference to the giving Money to the King, till this Bill were first passed.

IN the mean Time the Council of *Ireland* had the Alarm of what was intended before the Parliament, and did not only write to the King himself, but a large Letter to the Lords of the Privy Council, in which They represented the present distracted Condition of that Kingdom, "that there were more than one hundred thousand Persons who had Nothing else to live upon but their Drovers of Cattle; out of which They twice a Year sent as many as They could spare into *England*, which enabled them to pay their Rents, and return such Goods and Merchandise from thence as the Kingdom stood in Need of;" for no Money *in Specie* was returned upon that Commerce. "That if this Liberty of Trade, which They had enjoyed in all Ages, should be taken from them, the King's Army could not be supported, nor the Government maintained, but the Kingdom must necessarily be ruined; and probably a new Rebellion, in so general

*The Privy
Council of
Ireland re-
monstrate
against this
Bill.*

“ neral a Discontent as this Restraint would admini-
 “ ster, might be again entered into: And therefore
 “ They desired, that at least some Years might be al-
 “ lowed to that Traffick which had been always en-
 “ joyed; to the End that some other Husbandry might
 “ be introduced into the Kingdom, by which the Peo-
 “ ple might live, and which the Government would
 “ endeavour to plant with all possible Diligence and
 “ Encouragement.”

*The King a-
 gainst the Bill*

THE King himself was so much moved with those Letters, that He declared, “ that He could neither in
 “ Justice nor in Conscience consent to such a Bill,
 “ which upon Pretence of Benefit to one of his King-
 “ doms might and must be so mischievous to the other
 “ two” (for *Scotland*, as is said, was yet comprehended
 as well as *Ireland*): “ That He was equally King to
 “ all, and obliged to have an equal Care of all; and
 “ never to consent to any Thing that might be preju-
 “ dicial to either of the other, especially if the Benefit
 “ to the one were not proportionable to, and as evi-
 “ dent as, the Damage was to the other.” And upon
 these Grounds He recommended to them, “ to give
 “ such a Stop to this Bill, that it might never be pre-
 “ sented to him, for if it were He must positively re-
 “ ject it:” And without Doubt his Majesty at that
 Time did not resolve any Thing more within himself,
 than never to give his Royal Assent to that Bill.

*The Privy
 Council di-
 vided in their
 Opinions upon
 it.*

THE Letters from *Ireland* did not make the same Impressions upon the Lords of the Council, who were very much divided in their Opinions, even They whose Zeal for the King's Service was most unquestionable. Some were, upon the sole Consideration of the Injustice of it, and the Mischief that it would produce in *Ireland*, positively against ever consenting to it, and as positive that it might be stopped in the House of Commons, or thrown out of the Lords House, that it should never come to the King: Others did as much believe that it was a real Grievance, in which the Subject should have Relief; and insisted much, “ that in
 “ a Point

“ a Point evidently for the Benefit and Advantage of
 “ *England, Ireland* ought not to be put into the Scale,
 “ because it would be some Inconvenience there.”
 Some did in Truth think that the King was too much
 inclined to favour the *Irish*, and in that Respect were
 well content that this Bill should be a Mortification to
 them: And there wanted not others, who in dark
 Expressions (which grew clearer when the Matter came
 into the House of Peers) seemed to think, “ that the
 “ Estates in *Ireland* were more valuable than they were
 “ in *England*; and that some Noblemen of that King-
 “ dom lived in a higher Garb, and made greater Ex-
 “ pences, than the Noblemen in *England* were able to
 “ do; which had not been in former Times.” But
 They never considered, that those Noblemen had No-
 thing but what descended to them from their Ancestors;
 and that They had faithfully adhered to the King,
 and undergone as much Damage for doing so,
 as any Men had done.

THE House of Commons seemed much more mo-
 rose and obstinate than it had formerly appeared to be,
 and solicitous to grasp as much Power and Authority
 as any of their Predecessors had done, though no
 Doubt with no ill Intention: And it may be this would
 not have so much appeared, if there had been the same
 Vigour in those who had used to conduct the King's
 Business in that House, as there had used to be. But
 that Spirit was much fallen. The chief Men of the
 73) Court, upon whose Example other Men looked, were
 much more humble than They had used to be, and
 took more Pains to ingratiate themselves than to ad-
 vance the Interest of their Master: And instead of
 pressing what was desirable upon the Strength of Rea-
 son and Policy, as They had used to do, and by which
 the major Part of House had usually concurred with
 them, They now applied themselves with Address to
 those, who had always frowardly opposed whatsoever
 They thought would be grateful to the King; and de-
 sired rather to buy their Votes and Concurrence by

Promises of Reward and Preferment (which is the most dishonourable and unthrifty Brokery that can be practised in a Parliament, which from this Time was much practised, and brought many ill Things to pass), than to prevail upon those weighty and important Arguments which would bear the Light. Which low Artifice raised the Insolence of those, which would, as easily as it had been, have been still overruled and suppressed; and was quickly discerned by those others, who upon the Principles of Honour and Wisdom had hitherto swayed the House in all Matters of publick Concernment, and who now concluded by those new Condescensions, that the former sober Spirit and Resolution was laid aside, and that peevish Men would be compounded with; and so resolved to sit still or look on, till the Success of this Stratagem might be discerned.

AND by this Means the Bill for *Irish* Cattle was driven on with more Fury, and the other concerning Accounts more passionately spoken of; whilst every Day not only many of those, who had constantly observed the Advice that had been given them on the Behalf of the King, fell off to the other Party, but many of his household Servants concurred in the Bill for *Ireland*; whilst the rest, who did not yet think fit to do so, applied themselves to the King for his Leave that They might do the same. And Sir *William Coventry*, who had now by his Insinuations and Communication made himself very grateful to the refractory Party, persuaded the King, “ that the House had taken the *Irish* Bill so much to Heart, that They would never enter upon the Debate of Money, till that had passed the House and was sent to the Lords, who no Doubt, upon the Knowledge of his Majesty’s Mind and Resolution, would easily throw it out. That if his Servants continued obstinate in opposing it below, They should but provoke and anger the House, and render themselves useless to other Parts of his Majesty’s more important Business: Whereas if They did

“ did now gratify the House by concurring with them
 “ in this Matter, They should make themselves ac-
 “ ceptable, have Credit enough to divert the Bill of
 “ Accounts, and presently to dispose every Body to
 “ enter upon the Matter of Supply.”

THE King was not pleased with the Counsel, but had a very good Opinion of the Counsellor, who He believed could not but judge aright of the Temper of those with whom He had sate and conversed so long: And so his Majesty told him, “ He was contented He
 “ should follow the Dictates of his own Judgment and
 “ Conscience;” and the same Answer He gave to all such Members of the House of Commons who came to receive his Orders. And after all this, the Bill was carried with great Difficulty, and long Opposition given to it by those Members of several Counties, which professed, “ that the bringing over the *Irish*
 “ Cattle was so much for their Benefit, that They
 “ could not live well without it,” and were exceedingly perplexed that it should pass; which yet They hoped would be prevented in the House of Peers: And so the Bill was in great Triumph, and by all the
 74) Members (as in Cases They much delight in is usual), presented to the House of Peers.

AND the Commons no sooner repaired to their own House, than They assumed the Debate upon the Accounts, with the same Fervour They had pursued the other Bill of *Ireland*, and with the same Declaration, “ that They would not enter upon the Subject of Money, till They saw what Success that Bill would likely have;” and appearing every Day more out of Humour, expressed less Reverence towards the Court. And some Expressions were frequently used, which seemed to glance at the Licence and Disorders and extravagant Expence of that Place, not without some Reflections which aimed at the Lady, and 'at the exorbitant Power exercised by her. And this imperious Way of Proceeding confirmed those in their Wariness, who had no Mind to oppose or contradict the Party

The Bill, after great Opposition, passed by the Commons.

that They would and meant should prevail: But They the more endeavoured to render themselves gracious to the Leaders, as being willing to administer Fewel to the Fire the others intended to kindle; and, so They might preserve themselves, were very willing to expose other Ministers to the Jealousy of them, who They thought would not be quiet without some Sacrifice. And thus They alarmed the King with the new Apprehensions, "that the House, " which had yet dutiful Intentions, if They were " crossed in what They designed for his Service, " might be provoked to be bolder with his Majesty " than They had been yet, and to mention the Pre- " valence of the Lady," which every Body knew the Duke of *Buckingham* would have been glad to have contributed to. And with these continued Representations, but especially with their old Argument of casting it out by the House of Peers, where his Power could not be doubted, They at last prevailed with the King to leave all Men to themselves in the Business of the Accounts (where there was a greater Concurrence), as He had done in the *Irish* Bill: And so that Bill likewise was transmitted to the Lords.

*The Bill for
inspecting public
Accounts
passed by the
Commons.*

*The Propriety
of dissolving
the Parliament
at this
Time.*

AND at this Time many wise Men thought, that it would have been very happy for the King if He would have dissolved the Parliament, and presently after called another; which would have discovered many Combinations, when the Actors had found themselves excluded from entering again upon the Stage; and it would have appeared, that all the Storms had been raised by those Winds which had their Birth in the King's own House. And such a Dissolution (to which the King himself was enough inclined) would have been very popular throughout the Kingdom, which naturally doth not love long Parliaments, and exceedingly detested this for having only given away their Money, and raised a War of which They saw no End nor possible Benefit, without passing any good Laws for the Advancement of
the

the Peace and Happiness of the Kingdom. And very few of those, who had gotten Credit in the House to obstruct what the King desired, were Men of any Interest or Reputation with the People.

BUT as Nobody was forward publickly to own and avow this Counsel, the Consequence whereof They knew if it were not consented to; so They who meant to do themselves more Good by the present Indisposition and Distemper, than They could propose from a new Convention of Men utterly unknown, and who were like enough to bring Prejudice against their own Particulars, used all the Means They could devise to divert the King from that Inclination. They told him, “ that He would never have such another
 “ Parliament, where He had near one hundred
 “ Members of his own menial Servants and their
 “ near Relations, who were all at his Disposal; by
 “ which They had incurred so much Prejudice in the
 “ Country, that very few of them would ever be
 (375) “ elected again. That the present Distemper was
 “ contracted by Accidents and Mistakes, and would
 “ vanish upon very reasonable Condescensions, and in
 “ another Prorogation: Whereas if it should be dissolved and new Writs sent out, the People would
 “ return none but *Presbyterians* and known Enemies
 “ to the Church, and such who were most notoriously
 “ disaffected to the Court.” And this Argument, pressed by Men who had no more Affection for the Church than the *Quakers* had, prevailed with most of the Bishops to dissuade the King from hearkening to any such Advice; when They had much more Reason to expect a stronger Party in a new Parliament, and might have observed that their Friends fell from them every Day in Both Houses, and that the Court was not propitious to them, of which They had afterwards a sad Experience, and which They might then have well foreseen.

THE House of Peers was no sooner possessed of the Bill against *Irish Cattle*, but it was read, and a mar-

vellous

Great Antipathies in the House of Lords upon the Bill against Irish Cattle.

vellous keen Resolution appeared in many to use all Expedition in the passing it; though if the Matter itself had been without Exception, there were so many Clauses and *Provisos* in it so derogatory to the King's Honour and Prerogative, that many thought it a high Disrespect to his Majesty to admit them into Debate. But of these anon. The Duke of *Buckingham* appeared in the Head of those who favoured the Bill, with a marvellous Concernment: And at the Times appointed for the Debate of it, contrary to his Custom of coming into the House, indeed of not rising till eleven of the Clock, and seldom staying above a Quarter of an Hour, except upon some Affair which He concerned himself in, He was now always present with the first in a Morning, and stayed till the last at Night; for the Debate often held from the Morning till four of the Clock in the Afternoon, and sometimes till Candles were brought in.

AND it grew quickly evident, that there were other Reasons which caused so earnest a Prosecution of it, above the Encouragement of the Breed of Cattle in *England*: Infomuch as the Lord *Ashley*, who next the Duke of *Buckingham* appeared the most violent Supporter of the Bill, could not forbear to urge it as an Argument for the prosecuting it, "that if this Bill
" did not pass, all the Rents in *Ireland* would rise in
" a vast Proportion, and those in *England* fall as
" much; so that in a Year or two the Duke of *Or-*
" *mond* would have a greater Revenue than the Earl
" of *Northumberland*;" which made a visible Impres-
sion in many, as a Thing not to be endured. Whereas the Duke had indeed at least four Times the Proportion of Land in *Ireland* that descended to him from his Ancestors, that the Earl had in *England*; and the Revenue of it before the Rebellion was not inferiour to the other's. But Nothing was more manifest, than that the Warmth of that Prosecution in the House of Peers in many Lords did proceed from the Envy They had of the Duke's Station in one Kingdom, and of his Fortune in the other.

AND the whole Debate upon the Bill was so disorderly and unparliamentary, that the like had never been known: No Rules or Orders of the House for the Course and Method of Debate were observed. And there being, amongst those who advanced the Bill, fewer Speakers than there were of those who were against it, those few took upon them to speak oftener than They ought to do, and to reply to every Man who declared himself to be of another Opinion: And when They were put in Mind of the Rule of the House, "that no Man should speak above once upon the same Question," They called presently to have the House resolved into a Committee, which any single Member may require, and then every Man may speak as often as He please; and so the Time was spent unprofitably without the Business being advanced. In the mean Time the House of Commons proceeded as irregularly, in sending frequent Messages to hasten the Dispatch of the Bill, when They knew well the Debate of every Day: And it was frequently urged as an Argument, "that the House of Commons was the fittest Judge of the Necessities and Grievances of the People; and They having passed this Bill, the Lords ought to conform to their Opinion." In Fine, there grew so great a Licence of Words in this Debate, and so many personal Reflections, that every Day some Quarrels arose, to the great Scandal and Dishonour of a Court that was the supreme Judicatory of the Kingdom.

THE Duke of *Buckingham*, who assumed a Liberty of speaking when and what He would in a Dialect unusual and ungrave, his Similes and other Expressions giving Occasion of much Mirth and Laughter, one Day said in the Debate, "that whoever was against that Bill had either an *Irish* Interest or an *Irish* Understanding:" Which so much offended the Lord *Offory*, who was eldest Son to the Duke of *Ormond* (who had very narrowly escaped the Censure of the House lately, for reproaching the Lord *Ashley* with having

The Lord Offory challenges the Duke of Buckingham

having been a Counsellor to *Cromwell*, and would not therefore trust himself with giving a present Answer), that meeting him afterwards in the Court, He desired the Duke "that He would walk into the next Room with him;" and there told him, "that He had taken the Liberty to use many loose and unworthy Expressions which reflected upon the whole *Irish Nation*, "and which He himself repented so much that He expected Satisfaction, and to find him with his Sword "in his Hand;" which the Duke endeavoured to avoid by all the fair Words and Shifts He could use, but was so far pressed by the other, whose Courage was never doubted, that He could not avoid appointing a Place where They would presently meet, which He found the other would exact to prevent Discovery, and therefore had chosen rather to urge it himself than to send a Message to him. And so He named a known Place in *Chelsea Fields*, and to be there within less than an Hour.

THE Lord *Offory* made Haste thither, and expected him much beyond the Time; and then seeing some Persons come out of the Way towards the Place where He was, and concluding They were sent out to prevent any Action between them, He avoided speaking with them, but got to the Place where his Horse was, and so retired to *London*. The Duke was found by himself in another Place on the other Side of the Water, which was never known by the Name of *Chelsea Fields*, which He said was the Place He had appointed to meet.

FINDING that Night that the Lord *Offory* was not in Custody, and so He was sure He should quickly hear from him, and upon Conference with his Friends, that the Mistake of the Place would be imputed to him; He took a strange Resolution, that every Body wondered at, and his Friends dissuaded him from. And the next Morning, as soon as the House was sate, the Lord *Offory* being likewise present that He might find some Opportunity to speak with him, the Duke told

told the House, "that He must inform them of ^{*The Duke of Buckingham informs the House of the Affair.*}
 "Somewhat that concerned himself; and being sure
 "that it would come to their Notice some other Way,
 "He had therefore chose to acquaint them with it
 "himself;" And thereupon related "how the Lord
 "Offory had the Day before found him in the Court,
 "and desired him to walk into the next Room, where
 "He charged him with many Particulars which He
 "had spoken in that Place, and in few Words told
 "him He should fight with him; which though He
 "did not hold himself obliged to do in Maintenance
 "of any Thing He had said or done in the Parlia-
 "ment, yet that it being suitable and agreeable to his
 (377) "Nature, to fight with any Man who had a Mind to
 "fight with him" (upon which He enlarged with a
 "little Vanity, as if Duelling were his daily Exercise
 "and Inclination), He appointed the Place in *Chelfea*
 "*Fields*, which He understood to be the Fields over
 "against *Chelfea*; whither, having only gone to his
 "Lodging to change his Sword, He hastened, by
 "presently crossing the Water in a Pair of Oars, and
 "stayed there in Expectation of the Lord Offory, until
 "such Gentlemen," whom He named, "found him
 "there, and said, *They were sent to prevent his and the*
 "*Lord Offory's Meeting, whom others were likewise sent*
 "*to find for the same Prevention.* Whereupon, con-
 "cluding that for the present there would be no
 "Meeting together, He returned with those Gentle-
 "men to his Lodging, being always ready to give
 "any Gentleman Satisfaction that should require it
 "of him."

EVERY Body was exceedingly surpris'd with the
 Oddness and Unseasonableness of the Discourse, which
 consisted, with some Confusion, between aggravating
 the Presumption of the Lord Offory, and making the
 Offence as heinous as the violating all the Privileges
 of Parliament could amount unto; and magnifying
 his own Courage and Readiness to fight upon any Op-
 portunity, when it was clear enough that He had de-
 clined

clined it by a gross Shift: And it was wondered at, that He had not chosen rather that some other Person might inform the House of a Quarrel between two Members, that it might be examined and the Mischief prevented. But He believed that Way would not so well represent and manifest the Lustre of his Courage, and might leave him under an Examination that would not be so advantageous to him as his own Information: And therefore no Persuasion and Importunity of his Friends could prevail with him to decline that Method.

THE Lord *Ossory* seemed out of Countenance, and troubled that the Contest was like to be only in that Place, and cared not to deny any Thing that the Duke had accused him of; only “wondered, that He should “say He had challenged him for Words spoken in the “House, when He had expressly declared to him, “when his Grace insisted much upon the Privilege of “Parliament to decline giving him any Satisfaction, “*that He did not question him for any Words spoken in Par-* “*liament, but for Words spoken in other Places, and for* “*Affronts, which He had at other Times chosen to bear* “*rather than to disturb the Company.*” He confessed, “He had attended in the very Place where the Duke “had done him the Honour to promise to meet him;” and mentioned some Expressions which He had used in designing it, which left the Certainty of it not to be doubted.

WHEN They had Both said as much as They had a Mind to, They were Both required, as is the Custom, to withdraw to several Rooms near the House: And then the Lords entered upon Debate of the Transgression; many insisting “upon the Magnitude of the “Offence, which concerned the Honour and Safety of “the highest Tribunal in the Kingdom, and the Liberty and Security of every Member of the House. “That if in any Debate any Lord exceeded the modest “Limits prescribed, in any offensive Expressions, the “House had the Power and the Practice to restrain “and reprehend and imprison the Person, according to “the

“ the Quality and Degree of the Offence; and that no
 “ other Remedy or Examination could be applied to
 “ it, even by the King himself. But if it should be
 “ in any private Man to take Exceptions against any
 “ Words which the House finds no Fault with, and
 “ to require Men to justify with their Swords all that
 “ They say in Discharge of their Conscience, and for
 “ the Good and Benefit of their Country; there is an
 (378) “ End of the Privilege of Parliament and the Freedom
 “ of Speech: And therefore that there could not be
 “ too great a Punishment inflicted upon this notorious
 “ and monstrous Offence of the Lord *Offory*, which
 “ concerned every Lord in particular, as much as it
 “ did the Duke of *Buckingham*; who had carried him-
 “ self as well as the ill Custom and Iniquity of the Age
 “ would admit, and had given no Offence to the
 “ House, towards which He had always paid all pos-
 “ sible Respect and Reverence.”

THEY who considered the Honour and Dignity only
 of the House, and the ill Consequence of such Viola-
 tions as these, which Way soever their Affections were
 inclined with Reference to their Persons, were all of
 Opinion, “ that their Offences were so near equal that
 “ their Punishment ought to be equal: For that be-
 “ sides the Lord *Offory's* Denial that He had made any
 “ Reflection upon any Words spoken in Parliament,
 “ which was the Aggravation of his Offence, there
 “ was some Testimony given to the House by some
 “ Lords present, that the Lord *Offory* had complained
 “ of the Duke's Comportment towards him before
 “ those Words used in the House by him, of *the Irish*
 “ *Interest or Irish Understanding*, and resolved to expof-
 “ tulate with him upon it; so that those Words could
 “ not be the Ground of the Quarrel. And it was evi-
 “ dent by the Duke's own Confession and Declaration,
 “ that He was as ready to fight, and went to the Place
 “ appointed by himself for Encounter; which made
 “ the Offence equal.” And therefore They moved,
 “ that They might be Both brought to the Bar, and
 “ upon

“ upon their Knees receive the Sentence of the House
 “ for their Commitment to the *Tower*.”

SOME, who would shew their Kindness to the Duke, were not willing that He should undergo the same Punishment with the other, until some Lords, who were “ known not to be his Friends, were very earnest that “ the Duke might receive no Punishment, because He “ had committed no Fault; for that it was very evident that He never intended to fight, and had, “ when no other Tergiversation would serve his Turn, “ prudently mistaken the Place that was appointed by “ himself;” which was pressed by two or three Lords in such a pleasant Manner, with Reflection upon some Expressions used by himself, that his better Friends thought it would be more for his Honour to undergo the Censure of the House than the Penalty of such a Vindication: And so They were Both sent to the *Tower*.

*They are Both
 sent to the
 Tower.*

AND during the Time They remained there, the Bill against *Ireland* remained in Suspense, and uncalled for by those, who would not hazard their Cause in the Absence of their strongest Champion. But the same Spirit was kept up in all other Arguments, the Displeasure, that had arisen against each other in that, venting itself in Contradictions and sharp Replies in all other Occasions; a Mischief that is always contracted from the Agitation of private Affairs, where different Interests are pursued; from whence personal Animities arise, which are not quickly laid aside, after the Affair itself that produced those Passions is composed and ended. And this Kind of Distemper never more appeared, nor ever lasted longer, than from the Debate and Contestation upon this Bill.

THOSE two Lords were no sooner at Liberty, and their Displeasure towards each other suppressed or silenced by the King's Command, but another more untoward Outrage happened, that continued the same Disturbance. It happened that upon the Debate of the same Affair, the *Irish* Bill, there was a Conference appointed with the House of Commons, in which the Duke

A Scuffle between the Duke of Buckingham and the Marquis of Dorchester.

(379) Duke of *Buckingham* was a Manager; and as They were sitting down in the *Painted Chamber*, which is seldom done in good Order, it chanced that the Marquis of *Dorchester* sat next the Duke of *Buckingham*, between whom there was no good Correspondence. The one changing his Posture for his own Ease, which made the Station of the other the more uneasy, They first endeavoured by jussling to recover what They had dispossessed each other of, and afterwards fell to direct Blows; in which the Marquis, who was the lower of the two in Stature, and was less active in his Limbs, lost his Periwig, and received some Rudeness, which Nobody imputed to his Want of Courage, which was ever less questioned than that of the other.

THE Misdemeanor, greater than had ever happened, in that Place and upon such an Occasion, in any Age when the least Reverence to Government was preserved, could not be concealed; but as soon as the Conference was ended, was reported to the House, and Both Parties heard, who Both confessed enough to make them undergo the Censure of the House. The Duke's Friends would fain have justified him, as being provoked by the other; and it was evident their mutual undervaluing each other always disposed them to affect any Opportunity to manifest it. But the House sent them Both to the *Tower*; from whence after a few Days They were again released together, and such a Reconciliation made as after such Rencounters is usual, where either Party thinks himself beforehand with the other, as the Marquis had much of the Duke's Hair in his Hands to recompense for his pulling off his Perriwig, which He could not reach high enough to do to the other.

*For which
They are com-
mitted to the
Tower.*

WHEN all Things were thus far quieted, the Bill was again entered upon with no less Passion for the Stock that had been wasted. The Arguments which were urged against the Bill for the Injustice of it were, *Arguments urged against the Irish Bill in the House of Peers.*

“ that They should, without any Cause or Demerit on
“ their Part, or any visible Evidence of a Benefit that
“ would

“ would accrue from it to this Kingdom, deprive his Majesty’s two other Kingdoms of a Privilege they had ever been possessed of. That They might as reasonably take away the Trade from any one County in *England*, because it produced some Inconvenience to another County more in their Favour. That the large Counties of *Norfolk, Suffolk, Kent*, and other Provinces, would lose as much by the passing of this Act, as the Northern and any other Counties would gain by it. That those two Kingdoms might with the same Justice press his Majesty’s Concurrency, that They might have no Trade with *England*, which would bring more Damage to *England* by much, than it would gain by this Act of Restraint : And that it was against all the Maxims of Prudence, to run the Danger of a present Mischief and Damage, as this would produce in *Ireland* by the Testimony of the Lord Lieutenant and Council of that Kingdom, only upon the Speculation of a future Benefit that might accrue, though it were yet only in Speculation.”

THESE, and many other Arguments of this Kind, which for the most Part were offered by Men who had not the least Relation to *Ireland*, made no other Impression, than that They were content to leave *Scotland* out of the Bill ; which increased their Party against *Ireland*, and gave little Satisfaction to the other, who did not so much value the Commerce with the other Kingdom. And this Alteration the House of Commons likewise consented to, but with great Opposition, since in Truth that Concession destroyed the Foundation upon which the whole Fabrick of the Bill was supported.

Against
Clauses in it
derogatory to
the Prerogative.

THEN the Debate fell upon some derogatory Clauses, and *Provisos* very contrary to his Majesty’s just Prerogative and Power (for They made his Majesty’s own Licence and Warrant of no Effect or Authority, but liable to be controlled by a Constable ; nor would per-⁽³⁸⁰⁾mit the Importation of three thousand Beeves, which,
by

by an Act of Parliament in *Ireland*, were every Year to be delivered at *Chester* and another Port for the Provision of the King's House); which in many Respects the House generally disliked, and desired "that it might have no other Style than had been accustomed in all the penal Acts of Parliament which were in Force, it being to be presumed, that the King would never dispense with any Violation of it, except in such Cases as the Benefit and Good of the Kingdom required it; which might naturally fall out, if there should happen such a Murrain amongst the Beasts of that Species, as had been these late Years amongst Horses, which had destroyed so many thousand, that good Horses were now hard to be procured. And if the same or the like Destruction should fall upon the other Cattle, We should have then more Cause to complain of the Scarcity and the Dearness of Meat, than We have now of the Plenty and Cheapness, which was the only Grievance now felt, and which Kingdoms seldom complained of: And in such a Case it would be very great Pity, that the King should not have Power enough to provide for the Supply of his Subjects, and to prevent a common Dearth."

BUT this was again opposed with as much Passion and Violence as had fallen out in any Part of the Debate; and such rude Arguments used against such a Power in the King, as if the Question were upon reposing some new Trust in him, whereas it was upon divesting him of a Trust that was inherent in him from all Antiquity: And "that it was the same Thing to be without the Bill, and not to provide against the King's dispensing with the not obeying it, whose Inclinations were well known in this Particular; and therefore the Effect of them, and of the Importunity of the Courtiers, must be provided against." And throughout this Discourse there was such a Liberty of Language made Use of, as reflected more upon the King's Honour, and indeed upon his whole

*These Clauses
are amended
by the Lords.*

Council and Court, than had been heard in that House, but in a Time of Rebellion, without very severe Reprehension: And it so much offended the House now, that, notwithstanding all the sturdy Opposition, it was resolved that those Clauses and *Provisos* should be amended in some Places, and totally left out in others. And with the Alteration and Amendments it was sent down to the House of Commons.

At this Time the publick Affairs and Necessities were little looked after or considered. The Fleet was come into the Ports, but there was no Money to pay off the Men: And what was equally mischievous, there was no Way to make the Provisions for the next Spring, that the Fleet might be ready for the Sea by the Time the Enemy would assuredly be out. If the Victualler were not supplied, who had much Money due to him, the Season would be past in which He was to buy the Cattle that He must kill; and He complained how much He should suffer by this Bill of *Ireland*, which already raised the Price of all Meats. And the Yards wanted all those Tacklings and Rigging and Masts, without which another Fleet could not be sent out, and which could no otherwise be provided than by ready Money. The King had anticipated all his own Revenue, and was ready to expose that for farther Security, but Nobody would trust. The new *Provisos* in the Bill of Supply at *Oxford* gave no new Credit, but were found as mischievous as any Body had apprehended they would be: And the Bankers, who in all such Occasions were a sure Refuge, wanted now Credit themselves; which that They might not recover, the Parliament had treated them as ill since They came together, that is, with Reproaches and Threats, as They had done at *Oxford*. In which Kind of Persecution Sir *William Coventry*, and some who followed him, led the Van, very much to the King's Prejudice and against his Command; but They excused themselves, upon the Credit it gave them in the House to do him Service.

ALL this was well enough understood: And it was as visible, that They intended to make it a forcible Argument for the passing the *Irish* Bill, which, though from different Motives, was now become the Sacrifice without which They would not be appeased; and therefore, when the Bill was sent to them with those Alterations and Amendments, They rejected them all, and voted, “that They would adhere to their own *The Commons adhere to their Bill.* Bill without departing from a Word of it, except “with Reference to *Scotland*,” from which They had receded. And if upon this very unusual Return the House of Peers had likewise voted, “that They too “would adhere,” which They might regularly have done, and would have been consented to by the major Part of the House if the Question had been then put; there had been an End of that Bill. But that must not be suffered: The Party that cherished it was too much concerned to let it expire in a deep Silence, and were numerous enough to obstruct and defer what They liked not, though not to establish what They desired. Some of them, that is, some who desired that the Bill should pass, though uncorrupted by their Passions, did not like the Obstinacy of the House of Commons in not departing from some unusual Clauses and Pretences; yet were not willing to have the like Vote for adhering to pass in that House, which it might do when all other Remedies should fail; and therefore moved, “that a Conference might be required, in which such “Reasons might be given as might satisfy them.” Many Conferences, and free Conferences, were held, in which the Commons still maintained their Adherence with a wonderful Petulance: And those Members, who were appointed to manage the Conferences, took the Liberty to use all those Arguments, and the very Expressions, which had been used in the House of Peers, against leaving any Power in the King to dispense; and added such other of their own as more reflected on his Majesty’s Honour; and yet concluded as if They could say more if They were provoked,

upon which every Man might make what Glosses He pleased, and the King himself was left to his own Imaginations.

*An Instance of
the Passion of
the Commons
in this Affair.*

THERE need be no other Instance given of the unheard of and incredible Passion that was shewed in the Transaction of that Bill, than a Particular that related to the City of *London*. Upon the News of the great Fire in *London*, and the Devastation that it made there, there was so general a Lamentation in *Ireland* as might be expected from a neighbour Province, that had so great a Commerce with and Dependance upon it. And the Consent in this Lamentation was so digested, that the several Provinces had made a Computation and Division between themselves, and presented a Declaration to the Lord Lieutenant and Council, “ that They had
“ so tender a Sense of that Calamity, that if They were
“ able to raise Money to administer some Assistance to
“ the City towards the Reparation of their great Loss,
“ They would willingly offer and present it: But that
“ not being in their Power or Possession, the great
“ Scarcity and Want of Money throughout that Kingdom being notoriously known, but there being
“ Somewhat in their Power to offer, which might at
“ least testify their Good-Will, and not be wholly
“ useless towards the End They designed it; They
“ had agreed between themselves to give unto the
“ Lord Mayor and City of *London*, to be disposed of
“ by them to such particular Uses as They should judge
“ most convenient, the Number of thirty thousand
“ *Irish* Beasts, which should be delivered within such⁽³⁸⁾
“ a Time and at such Ports,” which were named,
“ to any such Persons as should be appointed to receive them.” And of this They desired the Lord Lieutenant and Council to advertise the King, and likewise give Notice to the City of *London*: Both which were done accordingly; and the Advertisement arrived in the City in the Time when this Bill was depending in the Lords House. Whereupon the Lord Mayor and Aldermen presented a Petition to the Lords, with

a *Proviso* that They desired might be inserted in the Bill that was before them, by which it was provided, “that Nothing contained in that Bill should hinder “the City of *London* from enjoying the charitable Donative of the thirty thousand Cattle, but that They “might have Liberty to import the same.”

It can hardly be believed with that Passion and Indignation this Petition was received by the House, what Invectives were made against the City, “for “their Presumption in interposing their own particular “Interest to obstruct the publick Affairs of the Kingdom;” and then the Reflections which were made “upon the Council of *Ireland*, “for giving Countenance to such an Address, and becoming Instruments themselves to promote and advance it:” Which They would not allow “to be an Offering of “Charity, but a Cheat and a Cozenage by Combination to elude an Act of Parliament, which They “could not choose but hear of, and could not but believe that it was passed by this Time. Which if it “had been, and that Power left in the King as had “been proposed, They might now see how it would “have been applied: For They could not doubt, but “there would enough have advised the King, that He “should gratify the City of *London* with a Licence for “this Importation; which could not or would not “have been so warily drawn, but that, under the Licence for thirty thousand, there would be three hundred thousand imported into *England*; and this the “great Charity aimed at and was assured of.” And so, after much Bitterness, They desired “that the Petition and the *Proviso* might be Both rejected.”

BUT this Passion did not cover the whole House, which neither commended nor approved it, and were much less transported with it. They believed it was a very seasonable Intention of Charity, and would not take upon them to frustrate it; and so prevailed, that it was passed in that House, and transmitted with Approbation to the other. But it had the same Fate there

with the other *Provisos*, and was thrown out with that Bitterness and Observation which had been offered against it by some Lords. Nor could any Expedients alter or remove their Obstinacy, though many were offered upon Conferences, and particularly “that all “the Beasts should be killed in *Ireland* and powdered “there, and then sent over in Barrels or other Casks;” but They found Cozenage in that too, and were as angry with the Cattle when they were dead, as when they were alive, as if it would for a Time keep down the Price of Meat in *England*, which They desired to advance: So that there was Nothing gotten in all those Conferences, but the Discovery of new Jealousies of the King and the Court, and new Insinuations of the Discontents and Murmurs in the Country, that this Bill was so long obstructed. Which being still represented to the King with most ghastly Aspects towards what Effects it might produce, his Majesty in the End was prevailed upon, notwithstanding very earnest Advice to the Contrary, not only to be willing to give his Royal Assent when it should be offered to him, but to take very great Pains to remove those Obstructions which hindered it from being offered to him, and to solicit particularly very many Lords to depart from their own Sense, and to conform to what He thought convenient to his Service; which gave (383) those who loved him not great Argument of Triumph, and to those who loved him very passionately much Matter of Mortification. Yet after all this, and when his Majesty had changed some Mens Resolutions, and prevailed with others to withdraw and to be absent when the Bill should come again to be discussed, it was carried with great Difficulty and with great Opposition, and against the Protestation of many of the Lords.

The Bill at length consented to by the House of Lords

IN all the Debate upon this Bill, and upon the other of Accounts, the Chancellor had the Misfortune to lose much Credit in the House of Commons, not only by a very strong and cordial Opposition to what They desired, but by taking all Occasions, which were offered

ferred by the frequent Arguments which were urged
 “ of the Opinion and the Authority of the House of
 “ Commons, and that it was fit and necessary to con- *The Chancel-
 lor offends the
 Commons by
 desiring the
 Peers to re-
 strain their
 Encroach-
 ments.*
 “ cur with them,” to mention them with less Reye-
 rence than They expected. It is very true: He had
 always used in such Provocations to desire the Lords,
 “ to be more solicitous in preserving their own un-
 “ questionable Rights and most important Privileges,
 “ and less tender in restraining the Excess and new
 “ Encroachments of the House of Commons, which
 “ extended their Jurisdiction beyond their Limits.”
 He put them often in Mind “ of the Mischiefs which
 “ had their Original from the Liberties the House of
 “ Commons assumed, and the Compliance the House
 “ of Peers had descended to, in the late ill Times, and
 “ which produced the Rebellion; and were carried so
 “ far, till, after all the multiplied Affronts, They had
 “ wrested the whole Authority out of the Hands of the
 “ House of Peers, and at last declared them useless
 “ Members of the Commonwealth, and shut up the
 “ Door of their House with a Padlock, which They
 “ had never Power to unfasten till the King’s Return.”
 And in those Occasions his Expressions were many
 Times so lively, that they offended many of the Lords
 who were present, and had too much contributed to
 those Extravagancies, as much as it could do any of
 the Commons.

THE Truth is; He did never dissemble from the
 Time of his Return with the King, whom He had like-
 wise prepared and disposed to the same Sentiments
 whilst his Majesty was abroad, that his Opinion was,
 “ that the late Rebellion could never be extirpated and
 “ pulled up by the Roots, till the King’s regal and in-
 “ herent Power and Prerogative should be fully
 “ avowed and vindicated; and till the Usurpations in
 “ Both Houses of Parliament since the Year 1640
 “ were disclaimed and made odious; and many other
 “ Excesses, which had been affected by Both before
 “ that Time under the Name of Privileges, should be

“restrained or explained:” For all which Reformation the Kingdom in general was very well disposed, when it pleased God to restore the King to it. Nor did the Convention, which proclaimed the King and invited him to return, exercise after his Return any exorbitant Power, but what was of Necessity upon former Irregularities, and contributed to the present Ends and Desires of the King.

AND this Parliament, that was upon the Dissolution of the former quickly summoned by the King’s Writ, willingly inclined to that Method, as appears by those many excellent Acts which vindicated the King’s Sovereign Power over Parliaments, and declared the Nullity of all Acts done by one or Both Houses without the King’s Assent; declared and settled the absolute Power of the Crown over the Militia; repealed that Act of Parliament that had excluded the Bishops from being Members of the House of Peers, and restored them to their Session there; and repealed that other infamous Act for Triennial Parliaments, which had Clauses in it to have led the People into Rebellion; and would willingly have prosecuted the same⁽³⁸⁴⁾ Method, if They had had the same Advice and Encouragement.

BUT They had continued to sit too long together, and were invited to meddle and interpose in Matters out of their own Sphere, to give their Advice with Reference to Peace and War, to hold Conferences with the King, and to offer their Advices to him, and to receive Orders from himself; and his Majesty was persuaded by very unskilful Men, “that They were “so absolutely at his Disposal, that He need never “doubt their undertaking any Thing that would be “ingrateful to him, and that whilst He preserved “that entire Interest He had in the lower House “(which He might easily do) He need not care what “the other House did or had a Mind to do;” and so induced his Majesty to undervalue his House of Peers as of little Power to do him Good or Harm, and prevailed

vailed with him too far to countenance that false Doctrine; towards which the House of Peers themselves contributed too much, by not inquiring into or considering the publick State of the Kingdom, or providing Remedies for growing Evils, or indeed meddling with any Thing in the Government till They were invited to it by some Message or Overture from the House of Commons: Insomuch as They sate not early in the Morning, according to the former Custom of Parliaments, but came not together till ten of the Clock; and very often adjourned as soon as They met, because that Nothing was brought from the House of Commons that administered Cause of Consultation; and upon that Ground often adjourned for one or two Days together, whilst the other House sate, and drew the Eyes of the Kingdom upon them, as the only vigilant People for their Good.

THEN when any Thing fell in their Way, that They could draw a Consequence from that might relate to their Privileges, They were so jealous of an Invasion, that They neither considered former Precedents, nor Rules of Honour or Justice; and were not only solicitous for that Freedom which belonged to themselves and their menial Servants, who ought not to be disquieted by private Suits and Prosecutions in Law, whilst They are obliged to attend upon the Service of their Country in Parliament, but gave their Protections *ad Libitum*, which were commonly sold by their Servants to bankrupt Citizens, and to such who were able but refused to pay their just Debts. And when their Creditors knew that They could have no Relation of Attendance to any Man, and thereupon caused them to be arrested, They produced some Protection granted to them by some Lord; whereupon They were not only discharged, but their Creditors, and all who bore any Part in the Prosecution, were punished with great Rigour, and to their great Loss and Damage, and to the great Prejudice of the City, and Interruption of the whole Course of the Justice of the Kingdom.

WHEN

WHEN the House of Commons sent up a Bill for the Suppression or Reformation of many Irregularities and Misdemeanors, which had grown up in the late Times of Disorder and Confusion, as Conventicles and other riotous Assemblies, wherein there was a Necessity of some Clauses of Power to inferiour Officers, whereby They were qualified to discover those Transgressions which would otherwise be concealed; the Lords would be sure always to insert some *Proviso* to save their Privileges, even in Acts which provided for the Punishment of such Crimes as no Person of Quality could be supposed to be guilty of, as stealing of Wood, and such vile Trespasses: Which took up much Time in Debate, and incensed the House of Commons, and produced many froward Debates, in which the King thought the Peers in the Wrong.

THIS Kind of Temper or Distemper upon very tri-⁽³⁸⁵⁾vial and light Occasions, in Seasons which required Gravity and Dispatch, provoked the House of Commons to take more upon them, to enter upon Contests sometimes unreasonably with the Lords, and to assume to themselves an Authority in Matters in which They ought not to interpose; and then were encouraged and indeed induced by those who had near Relation to the King and were trusted in his Service, to affect Novelties both in the Form and Substance of their Proceedings, which those Persons concurred in, much out of Ignorance what was to be done, and more out of Affectation to compass some crooked End of their own, to the Prejudice of another Person who was in their Disfavour. And when these Sallies out of the old trodden Path were taken Notice of, and his Majesty had been advised to prevent them in Time, He was persuaded, either “ that the Exceptions were “ in Matters of little Moment, and made only by “ formal Men who liked Nothing that was out of the “ old common Road; or that the Liberty would be “ applied to his Service, and in many useful Occasi- “ ons would mollify or subdue the inconvenient Mo-
 “ resity

“rosity of the Lords; or, when it should exceed, it
 “would be still in his Majesty’s Power to restrain it,
 “when He found it necessary.” And these Discourses
 prevailed too much with his Majesty, till He now
 found the Humour was grown too sturdy for him to
 contend with; and the same Men, who had persuaded
 him to contemn it, were now more importunate with
 him that He would comply with it.

THE Chancellor had always as earnestly opposed
 the over-captious insisting upon Privilege in the Lords ^{*He offends the*}
 House, either when in Truth there was not a just ^{*Lords by ad-*}
 Ground for it, or when They would extend it farther ^{*vising them*}
 than it would regularly reach; and oftentimes put ^{*not to insist*}
 them in Mind “of many exorbitant Acts which stood ^{*unreasonably*}
 “still mentioned in their Journal-Books, of their Pro- ^{*upon Privi-*}
 “ceedings in the late rebellious Times, which might ^{*lege.*}
 “be looked upon as Precedents by Posterity, and in
 “which the House of Commons had really invaded
 “their greatest Privileges, and trampled upon their
 “highest Jurisdiction; which was worthy of their
 “most strict Proceedings to vindicate by Protestation,
 “and by expunging the Memorial thereof out of all
 “their Books and Records, that there might be no
 “Footsteps left to mislead the succeeding Ages;” and
 often desired them “to preserve a Power in themselves
 “to put the House of Commons in Mind of their ex-
 “ceeding their Limits, for which They often gave
 “them Occasion, and particularly as often as They
 “sent to quicken them in any Debate, which was a
 “very modern Presumption, and derogatory from that
 “Respect which a House of Commons had always
 “paid to the House of Lords. And this They could
 “not reasonably or effectually do, till They declined
 “all unjust or unnecessary Pretences to Privileges
 “which were not their Due, and especially to a Power
 “of calling private Cases of Right and Justice, which
 “ought to be determined by the Law and in Courts
 “of Justice, to be heard and adjudged before them-
 “selves in Parliament; of which there were too fre-
 “quent

“quent Occasions to oppose and contradict their Jurisdiction.”

THIS free Way of Discourse offended many of the Lords, who thought him not jealous enough of nor zealous for the Privilege of the Peerage : And They were now very glad that He used so much more Freedom against the Proceedings of the House of Commons, which They were sure would be resented below, more than it had been above. And many of his Friends informed him “how ill it was taken ; and how carefully all that He said, and much that He did not say, was transmitted by some of the Lords to them, who would not fail in some Season to remember and apply it to his highest Disadvantage ;” and therefore desired him⁽³⁸⁾ “to use less Fervour in those Argumentations.” But He was in that, as in many Things of that Kind that related to the offending other Men, for his own Sake uncounsellable : Not that He did not know that it exposed him to the Censure of some Men who lay in Wait to do him Hurt, but because He neglected those Censures, nor valued the Persons who promoted them ; being confident that He would be liable to no Charge that He should be ashamed of, and well knowing that He had, and being well known to have, a higher Esteem of Parliament, and a greater Desire to preserve the just Privileges of Both Houses, than They had who seemed to be angry with him on that Behalf ; and that the extending them beyond their due Length would in the End endanger the Destruction of Parliaments.

BUT He shortly after found, that this Guard was not secure enough to defend him. What He said in Parliament was the Sense of more who would not speak it, than there were of those who disliked it ; and how much soever it offended them, They could not out of it find a Crime to accuse him of. But They who were more concerned to remove him from a Post, where He too narrowly watched and too often obstructed the Liberties They took, resolved to sacrifice
all

all their Oaths and Obligations, which obliged them to the Contrary, to the Satisfaction of their Envy and their Malice: And so whatsoever He said or advised in the most secret Council to the King himself with Reference to Things or Persons, They communicated all to those who had most Reason to be angry, yet could not own the Information. Of all which He had Advertisement, and that a Storm would be shortly raised to shake him, of which He had little Apprehension; never suspecting that it would arise out of that Quarter, from whence He soon after discerned it to proceed.

T(386)HERE was another particular and private Accident that fell out at this Time, that administered Lord Roos moves for a Bill to set aside the Issue of his Lady. more Occasion of Faction and Dissention in the Houses, which always obstructed and perplexed all publick Business. The Marquis of *Dorchester* had some Years before married one of his Daughters to the Lord *Roos*, eldest Son to the Earl of *Rutland*; Both Families very noble in themselves, and of great Fortunes, and allied to all the great Families of the Kingdom. The Lady being of a Humour not very agreeable, and not finding the Satisfaction She expected where She ought to have received it, looked for it abroad where She ought not to find it. And her Husband, as Men conscious to themselves of any notable Defect used to be, was indulgent enough, not strictly inquiring how She behaved herself, and She as little dissembling or concealing the Contempt She had of her Husband; until his Friends, especially the Mother (who was a Lady of a very great Spirit and most exalted Passion), took Notice of her frequent Absence from her Husband, and of her little Kindness towards him when She was present with him. And the young Lady, who with her other Defects had Want of Wit to bear a Reprehension She deserved, instead of excusing, avowed her no Esteem of her Husband; charged him with Debauchery, and being alway in Drink, which was too true; and reproached him with Folly, as a
Man

Man not worthy to be beloved. And the Passion, swelling to a great Height on Both Sides, the Marquis came to be engaged on the Behalf of his Daughter, and challenged her Husband to fight with him, who in many Respects was not capable, nor did understand those Encounters.

IN the End, after many Acts of Passion, which administered too much Cause of Mirth and Scandal to the World, yet by the Advice and Mediation of Friends, as good a Reconciliation as in such Cases is usual was made, and the young Couple brought to live again together.⁽³⁸⁷⁾ And the Lady having the Ascendant over the Lord, who was very desirous to live quietly upon any Conditions, that He might enjoy himself though He could not enjoy her, He was contented that She made a Journey to *London* upon Pretence to see some Friends: And the Time being expired which She had prescribed for her Absence, He sent to her to return, which She deferred from Time to Time. But at last after many Months She returned to him in so gross a Manner, that it appeared that She had kept Company too much, which She never endeavoured to conceal; and when her Husband told her “that She was with “Child,” and asked “who got it;” She answered him confidently, “that whoever got it, if it proved a “Boy, as She believed it would, He should be Earl “of *Rutland*.”

THIS was more than the young Man could bear without informing his Mother (the good Earl not loving to engage himself in so much Noise), who presently took Care that the greatbellied Lady was made a Prisoner in her Chamber, strictly guarded, that She could not go out of those Lodgings which were assigned her; all her own Servants removed from her, and others appointed to attend; and all other Things supplied that She could stand in Need of or require, Liberty only excepted. Yet in this close Restraint She found Means to advertise her Father of the Condition She was in, and made it much worse than it was,
seeming

seeming to apprehend the Safety of her Life threatened by the Malice of the Countess, Mother to her Husband, who," She said, " did all She could to alienate " his Affection from her; and now that She found She " was with Child, would persuade him that it was not " his; and took all this extreme Course, either to " make her miscarry and so endanger her Life, or to " put an End to Mother and Child when She should " miscarry:" And therefore besought her Father, " that He would find some Way to procure her Liberty, and to remove her from that Place, as the " only Means to save her Life."

THE Marquis, with the Passion of a Father, and Confidence of his Daughter's Virtue, and having no Reverence for the Countess, thought it an Act of great Barbarity, and consulted whether He could have any Remedy at Law to recover his Daughter's Liberty; and finding little Hope from thence (the Restraint of a Wife by the Jealousy of her Husband in his own House being not a Crime the Law had provided a Remedy against) He resorted then to the King, who as little knew how to meddle in it. In the mean Time He sent Women to see and attend his Daughter, who were admitted to see and confer with her, but not to stay with her; the Countess declaring, " that She should want Nothing; but that since it was " impossible that the Child could be of Kin to her Son, " who had not seen her in so many Months before the " Child must have been got, She would provide that " there should be no more foul Play, when She should " be delivered; and after that Time She should have " no more Restraint or Residence in that House, but " be at Liberty to go whither She would."

THE Conclusion was: The Lady was delivered, and a Son born, who was quickly christened by the Name of *Ignoto*, and committed to a poor Woman, who lived near, to be nursed; and as soon as the Lady recovered Strength enough, She was dismissed and sent to a House of her Father, who received her with

with the Affection He thought was due to her. And having conferred and examined her with all the Strictness He could, He remained satisfied in her Innocence, and consequently of the barbarous Treatment She had received, and the Injury and Indignity, both to him and her, that was done to the Son; for which He was resolved to leave no Way untried in which He might receive a Vindication. In order to which He first desired the King to hear all Parties, who was prevailed with to appoint a Day for the doing it, being attended by some Bishops and other Lords of his Council; when the Marquis and his Daughter, and the Lord Roos and his Mother, appeared, with more Ladies than could have the Patience to stay till the End of the Examination, where there were so many indecent and uncleanly Particulars mentioned, that made all the Auditors very weary. Nor was there any Room for his Majesty to interpose towards a Reconciliation, which was in View impossible; nor could the Lady be excused for a great Delight She took in making her Husband jealous of her, and in expressing a Contempt of him, whatever else She was guilty of: And so the King left it as He found it. And the Marquis, who had heard many Things He did not expect to have heard, took his Daughter to his own House, that by her own strict Behaviour She might best vindicate herself from the Scandal She lay under: But She quickly freed him from that Hope and Expectation; for within a short Time after, She, not being able to submit to the strict Order and Discipline of her Father's House, which would not permit those Wanderings She desired to make, nor the Visits She desired to receive, made an Escape from thence, and lodged herself at more Liberty, and lived in that Manner as gave too much Evidence against her with Reference to the Time that was past.

THE Marquis, who was a Man of great Honour, and most punctual in all Things relating to Justice, gave a noble Instance of Both, and how much He detested the

the

the base and unworthy Behaviour of his own Child, when it was manifest to him. He went to the other noble Family, asked their Pardon “for his Incredulity, and for any Offence He had committed against them, or Reproach He laid upon them, for the Vindication of an unworthy Woman, who He believed now had deserved all and more Aspersions than had been laid on her: And therefore He was ready to join with them to free the Family, as much as was possible, from the Infamy She had brought to them and him, and that her base Issue might not be an eternal Reproach in their Family.” Upon this She was first, upon the Complaint of her Husband, cited into the Court of the Arches before the Ecclesiastical Judges: Where, after a full Examination of Witnesses on Both Sides, and hearing what She could alledge in her own Defence, her Crime was declared to be proved sufficiently; and thereupon a Judgment was pronounced “of a full and entire Separation *“a Toro et a Mensâ pro Causâ Adulterii,”* in such a Form, and with such Circumstances, as are of Course in those Cases.

BUT all this was not Remedy enough against the Bastard's Title to the Honour of that illustrious Family: And therefore there was a Bill prepared, wherein all the foul Carriage of the Lady was set out, the Birth and Christening of *Ignoto*, the Declaration and Judgment of the Court of the Arches, and Separation of the Parties for the Adultery proved; and thereupon a Desire that it might be declared by Act of Parliament, “that the Son, *Ignoto*, by Name, is a Bastard, and incapable to inherit any Part of the Title, Honour or Estate of or belonging to the House of *Rutland*; and the same Incapacity to attend all other Children, which from that Time, the Birth of *Ignoto*, had or might be born from the Body of that Lady.” And this Bill being presented to the House of Peers by a Lord nearly allied to that Family, the Earl of *Rutland* being present with the

ABill brought in for this Purpose.

Marquis, as soon as it was read the Marquis stood up, and “with Expressions of Trouble, and of the Justice “that was due to the Greatness of a noble House, that “had received a foul Blemish by a Woman of too “near a Relation to him, of whom He was ashamed,” (389) gave his free Consent to the Bill, and desired that it might pass: And the Earl likewise besought the House, “that so infamous a Branch might not be ingrafted “into his Family, of which his Son the Lord Roos “was the sole Heir Male, with whom the Honour “must expire.”

*Some Lords a-
gainst a Pre-
cedent of this
Nature.*

It was a Case of general Concernment as well as Compassion, that an impudent Woman should have the Power to give an Heir to inherit a noble Title and Fortune by Descent, when it was so notoriously known and adjudged to be illegitimate, and a mere Stranger to the Blood of the House. Yet there were some very good Lords, and who detested the Woman and the Wickedness, made much Scruple of making a new Precedent in a particular Case, that undermined a Foundation of Law, and opened a Door to let in an unjust Declaration, upon Pretences not so well proved, to the Disinheritance of one that should not be illegitimate. But though it was a rare Case, it was found not to be a new one, there having been one or two Declarations of Bastardy in Parliament in the Reign of King *Henry VII.* and *Henry VIII.*

HOWEVER it was as just that She should be heard, to defend both herself and her Son; and therefore the Bill being read the second Time, it was committed, with Direction “that the Lady should have personal “Notice to attend, before the Committee entered upon “it:” And after long Inquiry at the Places where She used to be, it was found that She had transported herself into *Ireland*, in the Company of the Person whom She had preferred before her Husband; and there was Reason to believe, that it was after She had Notice of the Bill. However all Proceedings were respited till there was full Proof given to the House, by the Per-
son

son himself who had spoken with her in *Ireland*, and given her the Warrant that required her Attendance upon the Committee: And then, after many Days longer Delay, it was read and debated, and by the Committee reported to the House to be engrossed.

AND then, and not till then, the Duke of *Buckingham* ^{*The Duke of Buckingham obstructs the Bill.*} opposed the passing of it, upon Pretence, “that in the Bill the Lord *Roos* had assumed a Title that belonged to him by his Mother, who had been Heir Female to *Francis Earl of Rutland*,” when that Title, now challenged, had descended to *George* the Brother of *Francis*, and had been enjoyed by two Earls of *Rutland* since. It was generally thought a strange Exception: Nor was it known, whether the Duke was disposed to it as a Revenge upon the Marquis, or to shew his own Power (for He had many who concurred with him in Both Houses upon many Occasions), or whether He did in Truth desire to support the Lady in her Infamy, He not being over-tender in Cases of that Nature. However it was necessary to recommit the Bill, that some Expedient might be there found to remove the Obstruction, which though He was obstinate in till the House was tired with many Days Debate upon it, in which most of his Adherents upon the Unreasonableness left him, He persisted still and maintained the Debate almost alone, till the Time of the Session approached; when the Lord *Roos* was compelled to humour him in leaving out a Title that all the World gave him. And then, after intolerable Vexation to the House and Loss of Time, He desisted ^{*But it is at length passed.*} to appear against it; and the Act passed the Royal Assent.

THE ill Humour of the House of Commons was not abated; and though They knew well that their *Irish* Bill could never have passed the upper House but by the King’s powerful Interposition, They remained still jealous, or pretended to be so, that He would not give his Assent; which till He should do, They would admit no Debate of Money: So that as soon as the Bill

*The King
passes the Irish
Bill with a
Speech.*

was presented to him, his Majesty came to the House of Peers, and sent for the Commons to attend him upon the 18th Day of *January*; when, after He had given his Consent to that and another private Bill which They had presented, He told them, “that He had now passed their Bills, and that He had been in Hope to have had other Bills ready to have passed too.” He said, “that He could not forget, that within few Days after their coming together in *September*, Both Houses had presented to him their Vote and Declaration, *that They would give him a Supply proportionable to his Occasions*; and the Confidence of that had made him anticipate that small Part of his Revenue which was unanticipated, for the Payment of the Seamen; and his Credit had gone farther than He had Reason to think it would, but it was now at an End.”

THIS was the first Day,” He said, “He had heard of a Supply, being the 18th of *January*, and what it would amount unto, God only knew; and what Time He had to make such Preparations as were necessary to meet three such Enemies as He had, They could well enough judge. And He must tell them, what Discourses soever were abroad, He was not in any Treaty; but by the Grace of God He would not give over himself and them, but would do what was in his Power for Defence of Both. It was high Time for them to make good their Promise; and it was high Time for them to be in the Country, as well for the raising of Money, as that the Lords Lieutenants and Deputy-Lieutenants might watch those seditious Spirits which were at Work to disturb the publick Peace. And therefore He was resolved to put an End to that Session on *Monday* next come Sennight, before which Time He desired that all Things might be made ready that He was to dispatch.” His Majesty said, “He was not willing to complain that They had dealt unkindly with him in a Bill He had then passed, in which
“ They

“ They had manifested a greater Distrust of him than
 “ He had deserved. He did not pretend to be with-
 “ out Infirmities, but He had never broken his Word
 “ to them; and if He did not flatter himself, the Na-
 “ tion had never less Cause to complain of Grievances,
 “ or the least Injustice or Oppression, than it had had
 “ in those seven Years since it had pleased God to re-
 “ store him to them: He would,” He said, “ be glad
 “ to be used accordingly.”

THIS little Quickness in his Majesty prevailed more upon them, than all the former Application had done: And now They saw that They should not be suffered to continue longer together, They resolved to leave some Relish of their former Duty and Compliance. Not that the Humour was at all reformed or abated in in those who had shewed so much Frowardness, who still continued as perverse as ever; but They were over-ruled by the major Part of the House, as They would have been sooner, if it had not been that a contrary Course had been pursued to what had been formerly. Nor were They, who had advised that Change, willing that his Majesty should decline the same Method, and were much troubled that He had not cared the House more in his late Discourse. And as They had before advised his Majesty freely and without any Condition to offer the Repeal, and release the Act that had granted the Chimney-Money to him, which was a very good and a growing Revenue, but They observed to be unpopular; upon a Presumption (which They assured him could not fail) that so generous an Action in his Majesty towards his People would be immediately requited by a Grant of much greater Value (and They had prevailed in this Counsel, if the Chancellor and the Treasurer had not with great Resolution opposed it, and made evident to his Majesty, “ that He ought never to propose it himself
 “ though with Conditions, because it would make the
 “ Grace undervalued, and the Conditions to be
 “ esteemed unreasonable; nor to hearken to any ge-
 “ neral

“ neral Propofition, or consent to the Repeal of that
 “ A^ct, without having a full and equivalent Recom-
 “ pence (which ought to be very well weighed) grant-
 “ ed in the fame A^ct of Parliament; for He had now
 “ fufficient Evidence, that the constant Good-Humour
 “ of the Houfe was not to be depended upon:”
 Which confirmed his Majefty to refolve never to
 hearken to the one without the other, and fo that Mif-
 chief was prevented): So They were now as defirous
 that the Houfe of Commons would ftill prefs the Dif-
 patch of the Bill of Accounts, which refted in the
 Lords Houfe; and affured them, “ that if They would
 “ embrace the fame Pofitivenefs They had done, the
 “ Chancellor would be no more able to hinder the
 “ paffing of that A^ct, than He had been to keep his
 “ Majefty from consenting to the *Iriſh* Bill fo much
 “ againft his Refolution.” But They and their Friends
 could not keep up the fame Spirit of Stubbornnefs in
 the Houfe, nor prevail with the King to recede from
 his Purpoſe: So that the Bill for Accounts remained
 ftill in the Houfe of Lords not fully diſcuſſed. And
 ſuch a Progreſs was made in the Houfe of Commons,
 notwithstanding all Oppofition, that a Bill for Supply
 was prepared within the Time preſcribed, though in
 Reſpect of the Proportion not equal to the Occaſions,
 and entangled ftill with the ſame inconvenient Clauſes
 and *Proviſos* which had ſo unwarily been admitted at
Oxford, and which made what was granted unapplica-
 ble to the procuring ready Money; of which his Ma-
 jeſty was now fully convinced. But the Time was too
 ſhort to labour in the Alteration. And ſo the Bill, as
 it was, was ſent up to the Lords, who, after the ſhort
 Formality that cannot be avoided, gave it a Paſſage
 through that Houfe: So that it was now ready for the
 King.

*A Supply
 granted.*

*The King's
 Speech at the
 Prorogation of
 the Parliament*

THE 8th of *February* the King came to the Parlia-
 ment, and the Speaker of the Houſe preſented the Bill
 to the King, who gave his Royal Aſſent to it, and
 thanked them for it, with his Aſſurance “ that the
 “ Money

“ Money should be laid out for the Ends it was given :
 “ However,” He said, “ He hoped He should live to
 “ have Bills of this Nature in the old Style, with fewer
 “ *Provisos*.” He took Notice, “ that the Bill of Ac-
 “ counts for the Money that had been already raised
 “ since the War was not offered to him : But,” his
 Majesty said, “ that He would take Care (after so
 “ much Noise) that the same should not be stifled ;
 “ but that He would issue out his Commission in the
 “ Manner He had formerly promised the House of
 “ Peers ; and the Commissioners should have very much
 “ to answer, if They should not discover all Matters of
 “ Fraud and Cozenage.” He told them, “ the Sea-
 “ son of the Year was very far spent, in which the
 “ Enemy had got great Advantage ; but by the Help
 “ of God, He would make all the Preparations He
 “ could, and as fast as He could : And yet He would
 “ tell them, that if any good Overtures were made for
 “ an honourable Peace, He would not reject them ;
 “ and He believed all sober Men would be glad to see
 “ it brought to pass.”

“ HE would now prorogue them till towards Win-
 “ ter, that they might in their several Places intend the
 “ Peace and Security of their several Countries, where
 “ there were unquiet Spirits still working. He did
 “ pray them, and” said “ He did expect it from them,
 “ that They would use their utmost Endeavours to re-
 “ move all those false Imaginations out of the Hearts
 “ of the People, which the Malice of ill Men had in-
 “ dustriously infused into them, of He knew not what
 “ Jealousies and Grievances : For He must tell them
 “ again, and He was sure He was in the Right, *that*
 (392) “ *the People had never so little Cause to complain of Op-*
 “ *pression and Grievances, as They had since his Return to*
 “ *them.* If the Taxes and Impositions were grievous
 “ and heavy upon them, They would put them in
 “ Mind, that a War with such powerful Enemies could
 “ not be maintained without Taxes ; and He was sure
 “ the Money raised thereby came not into his Purse.”

He concluded “ with promising himself good Effects
 “ from their Affections and Wifdoms, wherever They
 “ were: And He did hope They should all meet again
 “ of one Mind, for his Honour, and the Good of the
 “ Kingdom.” And so They were prorogued to the
 10th Day of *October* next.

*The King ap-
 points Commis-
 sioners for in-
 specting pub-
 lick Accounts.*

AND now the King had very much to do, more
 than He had Time or Tools to dispatch. Yet He
 began first where the Parliament left off, that when
 They came again together They might have no Cause
 to say, that He had not performed what He had pro-
 mised, and so with the same Passion renew their Cla-
 mour upon the Accounts, which was made now a very
 popular Complaint; and whoever was accused of ob-
 structing that Examination, was presently concluded
 to have had a Share in the Prey. Yet He was not
 willing that such a strict Account or Examination
 should be made, especially into the Receipt of the
 Lord *Ashley* for the Prizes, that all the World should
 know what Money had been issued out by his own im-
 mediate Orders, and to whom. Hereupon He com-
 manded his Attorney and Solicitor General to prepare
 a Commission, with all necessary Clauses, to call all
 Persons to Account who had received any such Mo-
 nies, and to examine and take any Exception to the
 same.

AND that there might be no just Exception to the
 Commission, which He knew would be strictly looked
 into, They were required “ to advise with all or any
 “ of the Judges, that it might have their Approba-
 “ tion; and that there should be a Clause in the Com-
 “ mission, whereby the Commissioners should be au-
 “ thorised to call any of the Judges to their Assistance,
 “ when upon any Matters of Difficulty They should
 “ think it necessary.” And that there might be no
 Exception to any of the Commissioners, as like to be
 partial in Respect of Friendship or Alliance to any of
 those who were to be called before them, his Majesty
 appointed all those Persons, who were nominated for
 Commissioners

Commissioners in the Bill sent to the House of Lords by the Commons, to be inserted into this Commission; and likewise made Choice of such a Number of the Peers as was fit, to be joined to the others, and named those who had upon all Debates in the House appeared most solicitous, that a very exact Account should be required, and of such others who had no Relation to the Court, and were looked upon with the utmost Esteem by the House of Commons: All which was prepared with the Expedition that was possible, and the Commission sealed; and Notice given to all the Commissioners, that They should meet at a Place appointed; upon a Day named, presently after *Easter*, by which Time the Judges would be returned out of their Circuits; and They were then at Liberty to adjourn to what Place They pleased.

WE are now to enter upon the Occurrences of the Year 1667, a Year little more prosperous to the Publick than the Year preceding, and fatal in Respect to many calamitous Accidents to the Chancellor, and which put a Period to his Greatness; the Circumstances whereof, very notorious, were so interwoven with the publick Transactions of State, that it is not easy to make a distinct and clear Relation of the one without the other.

THE Temper the Parliament had been in, and the Delay They had used in giving the King any Supply towards the carrying on the War, made the King discern that He had been too confident of their Generosity, and that They had already departed from that Spirit with which They first had persuaded him to enter into that War: And it was as evident (which had been often foretold to him) that the *Dutch* could endure being beaten longer than He could endure to beat them. They were now relieved and supplied with the Money of *France*, and the governing Party had subdued all Contradictions; and whatever their Affections were, all Compliance and Submission appeared to the Commands of the State; and there wanted Nothing but

The King involved in great Difficulties.

93)

but the Season of the Year to carry their Fleet again to Sea, as great and as well provided as it had ever been. All Murmuring was transplanted from thence into *England*, where it grew up plentifully: And the King was, upon the Credit of an Act of Parliament that was passed on the 8th of *February*, to provide a Fleet ready to encounter with the potent Enemies in the Spring. There was no Trade by Sea, and therefore could not be much by Land, that could bring any Benefit to the King; and the Seamen ran all to the Privateers, who adventured for Booty, which They preferred before serving in the Royal Navy.

*He consulted the
private Com-
mittee upon
the perplexing
State of his
Affairs.*

THE King in those Streights called that Council together with whom He used to consult his most secret Affairs; and the chief Officers at Sea, and the Commissioners of the Navy, attended to give such Information as was necessary before any Resolution could be taken. There the whole State of the Navy was inquired into; what was in the Stores, and what the Defects or Deficiencies were, and what Hopes there were of supplying them; what Ships were ready, and what would be made ready in three Months. The Victualler was sent for to give an Account what Provision of Victuals was ready, and what could be provided and put on Board in the same Time, which was the utmost that could be limited. Every Officer protested, “that there could not be the least Attempt towards any Preparations without a good Sum of ready Money.” And the Yards were in that Necessity by Reason of the great Arrear of Wages that was due to them, that They were near a Mutiny, and could not be kept to their Work, being necessitated to do any Work abroad to get Victual for their Families. The inferiour Officers, which belonged to the Stores, lived by stealing and selling what They were entrusted to keep. In short: All Things were presented to be in that Confusion, that there appeared no Probability of being able to set out any Fleet before the Enemy would be so strong upon the Coast, that it would be very difficult

difficult to make a Conjunction between those Ships which were in the River, and the other which were at *Portsmouth* and in other Ports.

THIS desperate Representation did not make the King take a sudden Resolution: But the same Council met many Days Morning and Evening. All Ways were thought upon which might administer Hope to get any Money; and Considerations were entered upon what was to be done in Case a Fleet could not be provided fit to engage the Enemy, and which Way a defensive War was to be made at Sea, and how the Trade should be secured, and the Coasts and Harbours be so preserved, that the Enemy might do no Affront at Land; for every Day brought loose and ungrounded Intelligence of Bodies of Horse and Foot, drawn in *France* to the Seaside in many Places upon that large Coast, and likewise in *Holland*, and great Provision of Flatbottoms, as if They intended to make some Descent; which Kind of Rumours exceedingly discomposed the common People, though They who understood the Expeditions of that Nature, and with what Difficulty Land Armies were transported, were not moved by those Reports. After all Expedients were considered and well weighed, his Majesty found Cause to despair of being able to set out in any Time a Fleet A Resolution taken to act on the Defensive.
 394) equal to the Occasion, and so contracted his Thoughts to the other Part, for the Defensive.

THERE is a Point of Land on the *Kentish* Coast that extends itself into the Sea, and at the very Entrance of the River, where the King had often thought and discoursed of erecting a Royal Fort, that would both preserve the Coast, and likewise be a great Security to the River: And the prosecuting this Design was in this Consultation thought of great Importance, and the erecting another Fort in another Place, and repairing and strengthening *Landguard Point* upon the Coast of *Essex* and *Sussex*.

FOR Preparations for the Sea, it was thought fit and enough, "that good Squadron of light Frigats
 " should

“ should ride on the Coast of *Scotland*, and another of
 “ the same Strength lie off *Plymouth*, Both which
 “ should intercept the Trade of *Holland* both outward
 “ and inward, if They did not maintain it with strong
 “ Convoys, which would break their Fleet; and in
 “ those Cases the Frigats would easily retire to their
 “ Harbours. That some Frigats should be always in
 “ the *Downs*, to chase Picaroons from infesting the
 “ Coast, and to observe and get Intelligence of the
 “ Enemies Motion, and upon Occasion should retire
 “ up the River. That there should be some of the
 “ greatest Ships at *Chatham*, *Portsmouth* and other
 “ Places, prepared and put in Readiness against the
 “ End of Summer, before which Time Money might
 “ be provided: And then the Enemies Fleet being
 “ weary and foul, it might be presumed the *French*
 “ would return early into their own Ports, which were
 “ so far off; and then the Frigats from the *West* and
 “ the *North* might find the Way to join with the great
 “ Ships, which should be ready against that Time,
 “ and either fight the *Dutch* if They should choose it,
 “ or infest their Coast more than They had done this,
 “ and take all their Ships homeward bound from all
 “ Places, which, upon the Fame of their being Mas-
 “ ters of the Sea all the Summer, would repair Home
 “ without Apprehension of an Enemy.” And there
 were some Officers of great Experience at Sea, who,
 being called by the King to advise upon this Project,
 declared with Confidence, “ that the *Dutch* would be
 “ greater Losers by the War thus conducted the next
 “ Summer, than They had been in any Year since the
 “ War begun.”

FOR the Security of Trade, it was declared, “ that
 “ there was no possible Way to secure it but by re-
 “ straining it, and not suffering any Merchants Ships
 “ to go to Sea, and by giving them Advice to send to
 “ all their Factors and Correspondents, *that They should*
 “ *send no Goods Home till They received new Orders:*”
 Which Restraint some were against, “ both because
 “ it

“ it would have an ill Reception with the People,
“ when They should find that a War, which had been
“ entered into for the Enlargement and Advancement
“ of Trade, had produced a Cessation of Trade; and
“ it would appear very hard that Men, who had laid
“ out their own Stocks and were willing to venture
“ them, should be forbid and hindered from sending
“ them to those Markets for which They had provided
“ them, which would turn to little less Loss to them
“ than They should incur by their being taken by the
“ Enemy. Then it would be, not a Discouragement
“ but a Dissipation of the Seamen, who, if They
“ could have no Employment in the King’s Ships or
“ in the Merchant Ships, would be scattered abroad
“ to seek their Fortune, so that They would not be
“ brought together when the King had Occasion for
“ their Service. In the last Place: That the giving
“ this Order for Restraint, and Advice to the Mer-
“ chants to inform their Factors and Correspondents,
“ would be, and could not choose but be, an absolute
;) “ Publication of this Resolution of the King to send
“ out no Fleet in the Spring; which was yet agreed to
“ be the highest Secret.”

ALL these Reasons were temperately weighed and
answered, “ That it could not be unreasonable or
“ unjust to hinder Men from doing themselves Harm:
“ The King could not take their Goods from them to his
“ own Use; but He might lawfully hinder them from
“ spoiling or destroying the Goods that were their
“ own. That their being taken by the Enemy (which
“ would be unavoidable) concerned the King and the
“ Kingdom little less than it did the private Owners:
“ It would increase the Insolence and the Wealth of
“ the Enemy, and reflect upon his Majesty’s Honour
“ as well as impoverish his Subjects; and the Differ-
“ ence would be very great between losing their Goods,
“ and keeping them upon their Hands for a better
“ Market. For the Dissipation of the Seamen, there
“ would no great Danger be of that: The Squadrons
“ on

“ on the Western and the Northern Coasts, which
 “ must be very well manned, would entertain good
 “ Numbers; and the rest would put themselves on
 “ Board the Privateers, who should be all bound to
 “ to come Home against the Time the King would
 “ have Occasion for their Service, and then the Pri-
 “ vateers should be restrained as now the Merchants.
 “ For the keeping the present Resolution secret, which
 “ would by this Means be published, it were to be de-
 “ fired that it might remain a Secret as long as should
 “ be possible: But as discerning Men would easily dis-
 “ cover it, and could not but already know that it
 “ impossible for the King in Time to set out a Fleet,
 “ so it would quickly be evident to all the World;
 “ and the Secret was not to be affected longer than it
 “ could be concealed.”

THERE was another Inconvenience or Mischief that
 was in View, that would *come like an armed Man* upon
 the City, which was Want of Fewel, especially the
 Want of Coals from *Newcastle*, of which there had
 been a vast Quantity consumed in the late Fire, which
 had likewise consumed those Houses and Chimnies
 which should be supplied; yet the People remained
 still, and were not like to be much the warmer for
 being crowded closer together. But to that there could
 no other Remedy be applied, but the sending Orders
 to *Newcastle* to employ all their Ships, and all They
 could procure, in sending as much Coal as was possi-
 ble to *London* and the Towns adjacent, before the En-
 mies Fleet could put to Sea; and Convoys were as-
 signed too strong for their Privateers or small Parties
 of their Men of War: And the King gave two or three
 Vessels of his own, and likewise Money, to fetch Coals,
 that the Poor might have them at the Rates they cost;
 and directed the City to do the same. All which pro-
 duced some good Effect.

UPON the whole Matter, and thorough Examina-
 tion of the Whole, the King concluded upon all the
 Particulars mentioned before, assigning proper Persons

to supervise every Particular, that all should be executed in Time that was agreed upon. The Duke issued out all his Orders to the Ships, with which Sir *William Coventry* was charged, whose Office it was: And the King would charge himself with that which was most important, the Fortification at *Sheerness*; whither his Majesty made a Journey in the Cold and Depth of Winter, and took an Engineer and some Officers of the Ordnance with him, that all Things might be supplied from thence which belonged to that Office. He caused Master-Workmen to be sent from *London*, and drew common Labourers enough out of the Country, having provided Money to pay them. And after all Things were in this Order, and He had seen the Work begun, He left the Master-Engineer, whom He designed to be Governour of the Fort, for which He was very equal, upon the Place; and committed the overlooking of the Whole, that all possible Expedition might be used, to one of the Commissioners of the Ordnance, who promised to look carefully to it: And his Majesty returned to *London*, when in the Opinion of all his Servants He had stayed too long in such a Season, and such an Air, to the Danger of his Health. How all those Resolutions and Orders were executed afterwards, or complied with, must unavoidably be mentioned in its Place.

It cannot be imagined by any Man who in any Degree knew him, that the Chancellor, though He was present, could have any Part in these Resolutions but the submitting to them; every Particular being so much out of his Sphere, that He never pretended to understand what was fit and reasonable to be done: Nor throughout the whole Conduct of the War was He ever known to presume to give an Advice; but presuming that all whose Profession it was advised what was fit, He readily concurred. And He did always declare, "that in this last Consultation all Points were so fully debated; and that there was so concurrent an Opinion in the Commanders of the Ships, and
" the

“ the Officers of the Navy, with the Approbation of
 “ the Duke of York, Prince Rupert, and the General,
 “ that it was not possible to set out a Fleet in Time equal to
 “ that of the Enemy, to engage with it; and that the next
 “ best would be to stand upon the Defensive in the Manner
 “ proposed: That it did not appear to him, that there
 “ was any Election left but to pursue that Course,”
 which He did believe very reasonably proposed and
 resolved upon; nor did any Thing occur to him, why
 very much Good might not be hoped from it, He be-
 ing so totally unskilful in the Knowledge of the Coast
 and the River, that He knew not where *Sheerness* was,
 nor had ever heard of the Name of such a Place till
 this last Discourse, nor had ever been upon any Part
 of the River with any other Thought about him, than
 to get on Shore as soon as could be possible.

THE King had not himself thought of this defensive
 Way, but approved it very much when He heard it so
 fully discussed, and in which himself had proposed all
 his Doubts, which no Man raised more pertinently in
 Arguments of that Nature than his Majesty; and it
 may be He liked it the better, because at that Time,
 as He was heartily weary of the War, so He was not
 without a reasonable Hope of Peace, which He re-
 solved to cherish, as He told the Parliament at part-
 ing He would do. The Grounds of which Hope,
 and the Progress thereupon, the entering upon a
 Treaty, and the Conclusion thereof, will be the Dis-
 course and Relation We shall next enter upon.

*The Swedes
 disposed to as-
 sist the Eng-
 lish.*

How ill Success soever had attended the Negotiation
 of *Denmark* by the Irresolution and Unsteadiness of that
 Court, Mr. *Coventry* had conducted what had been com-
 mitted to him with very good Effect in *Sweden*. And after
 He had disposed that Court (where He had rendered
 himself extremely acceptable) to a just Esteem of the
 King's Friendship, and an equal Aversion to the *Hol-
 lander*, and concluded such Articles as were for the
 present and joint Convenience and Benefit of Both Na-
 tions, and prepared them to be willing to enter into a

stricter

stricter and nearer Alliance, and to that Purpose to send Ambassadors into *England*, where They had an Agent; He returned to give his Majesty an Account and Information of the Constitution and Temper of that Court, and of the Nature and Disposition of the two Ambassadors who were to attend his Majesty, who were chosen before He left *Stockholm*, and resolved to embark within ten Days: Which They did, and arrived about the Time, or soon after, that the City was so miserably destroyed by Fire; which was the less favourable Conjunction, not so much by the Influence that dreadful Distraction and Damage was like to have upon the vigorous carrying on the War, as by the ill Humour which the Parliament shortly after appeared to be in, and their manifest Obstinacy against the King's Desires; which was a Temper very different from what They expected to have found, and what They had been informed had possessed them from the Time of his Majesty's Return. Nor was this manifest Indisposition without some unhappy Impression upon the Spirits of the Ambassadors, and that Alacrity They brought with them presently to enter into a Treaty, and Conjunction of Forces against the common Enemy.

It was manifest enough, that the Crown of *Sweden* was weary of the Obligations They had been long bound in to *France*, which had superciliously neglected of late to comply with what was on their Part to be performed; and rather endeavoured to make Alliances with *Denmark*, and the lesser neighbour Princes, as those of the House of *Brunswick* and *Lunenbourg*, to their Disadvantage, than to consider that Crown which had been so useful to them, as if their Friendship was so considerable to them. Nor was this out of a real Disesteem of them; but that They might bind them to a faster Dependence upon them, and that They might not be severed from their Interest, whatsoever They should declare it to be. And therefore, when it was first suspected that They might be inclined to

*They send
Ambassadors
into England.*

England, and *Holland* apprehended that They might be induced to make a Conjunction with the Bishop of *Munster*, *France* (as hath been touched before) sent their Ambassadour *Pompone* into *Sweden*, with a full Year's Salary of what was in Arrear, much more still remaining due, and to incline that Crown to a Neutrality between the *English* and the *Dutch*; in which He found Mr. *Coventry* had prevented him, and though He had not then the Character of Ambassadour, He was much better respected there than He was. And as They would have joined with the Bishop of *Munster*, if He had advanced according to his Pretence, or had not been absolutely taken off by *France*; so, when He was diverted from his Purpose, They were the more inclined to make a firm Alliance with *England*, and thereby such a farther Conjunction with other Princes, Protestant or Catholick, that might give some Check to the impetuous Humour of *France*, which They now were as jealous of, and of their overflowing all the Banks which belonged to their Neighbours, as They had been formerly of the House of *Austria*; and for the same Reason were as desirous to retire from any Dependance upon or Relation to that Crown, as They had been formerly of its Protection; and were very well prepared to change their Alliance, and, if They might not be Losers by it, to make a Conjunction with *Germany* and the House of *Austria*, into which it was reasonable to be presumed that the *United Provinces* would be glad to be received upon moderate Conditions when a Peace should be made with *England*.

AND this was the Prospect that had been presented to them by Mr. *Coventry*, and upon View of which They now sent their Ambassadours, without being terrified by the Declaration of *France* on the Behalf of the *Dutch*; and with a Resolution, if They could not persuade *Holland* to separate from that Conjunction, and make a Peace apart with the King (which They laboured by their Ambassadour the Count of *Dhona* to the *States*) to join their Interest frankly to that of his Majesty,

Majesty, and to run the Hazard and expect the Issue and Event of the War.

THE two Ambassadors were *Flemming* and *Coyet*, The Characters of the Ambassadors Both Senators in the great Council of *Sweden*, and Men of prime Authority there: The former of the greater Place and Esteem, being a Nobleman of an ancient and noble Extraction of a Family in *Scotland*, that had lived through many Descents in *Sweden* in great Employment and Lustre; and this Man never dissimulated a particular Devotion to the King, and for that Reason principally was designed to this Negotiation. The other was not so well born or bred, or of so chearful a Complexion, but a more thinking and melancholick Man, more conversant in Books, and more versed in the Course and Forms of Business; and by his own Virtue and humble Industry had from a mean and low Birth, which in those Northern Kingdoms is the highest Disadvantage, by Degrees ascended to the Degree of a Senator, which is the chiefest Qualification; and had gotten his first Credit and Reputation by a Negotiation He was intrusted with in *Holland*, and a Treaty well managed by him there: which made him liable in that Court to be much inclined to the *Dutch*, and to have some particular Friendship with *De Wit*, They having studied together in *Leyden* when They were young; and their Familiarity after was improved to a good Correspondence in that Negotiation in *Holland*.

THIS being well known and commonly spoken of there, Mr. *Coventry* endeavoured to prevent his Designation to that Employment, by speaking to the Chancellor of that Kingdom, who always received him with open Arms, and gave good Testimony of his hearty and passionate Desire of a firm Conjunction between the two Crowns; and, though He was of a *French* Extraction, had a full Jealousy of the Want of Sincerity and Justice of that Nation. When He discovered the Apprehension Mr. *Coventry* had, He persuaded him to acquiesce in his Judgment rather than

to credit common Rumour: "That He well knew
 " Both, and had contributed to the Election of Both,
 " who were very fit to be joined together in an
 " Employment of this Nature, the Gaiety and Warmth
 " of the one standing in Need somerimes of the Phlegm
 " of the other, who would yet pay that Reverence to
 " him that was due to his superiour Quality; and that
 " He was too good a *Swede* to have Inclinations to the
 " *Dutch*, how much Conversation soever He had with
 " them. In a Word, He would pass his Word;" which put an End to all farther Doubts: And it was well enough known, that He had been raised by and was a Creature of the Chancellor.

AND in Truth, from the Time of their Arrival in *England* He carried himself very fairly, and without any visible Inclination to the *Dutch*, and much less to the *French*; and They Both very frankly declared to those of the King's Ministers with whom They conferred with Intimacy, "that that Crown would gladly
 " be separated from them, if a good Expedient might
 " be found to make them no Losers by it." Yet it is as true, that after They had been some Months in *England*, and saw in how ill a Posture the King was for the carrying on the War, and how far the Parliament was from giving Money, or from any reasonable Compliance with his Majesty's Desires, *Coyet* did not concur with the same Warmth in his Dispatches, with *Flemming*, into *Sweden*; but writ apart to the Ministers there, "that They must take new Measures, and not
 " depend upon a Conjunction with *England*, to which,
 " how well soever the King was inclined, He would
 " not be able to bear the Part They expected, by
 " Reason that He had no Power with the Parliament;" which Letters his Majesty's Agent then in *Sweden* had a Sight of: Which produced no other Effect there, but a Resolution, that if They saw that either the King was inclined to a Peace, or would be reduced to a Necessity to treat, the Ambassadors should offer in the Name of their Master his Interposition, which their
 Ministers

Ministers in *France* and *Holland* should then likewise make Proffer of, upon Advertisement first from them, but with a secret Assurance to the King, “ that if a Treaty
 99) “ should not take Effect” (which it could hardly be believed it would do), “ the Crown of *Sweden* would “ firmly unite itself to his Majesty’s Interest, and engage in the War with him; which it was evident They were more inclined to, than to a Peace in which *France* might be comprehended. But that which They most desired was, that a Peace might be made with the *Dutch* without comprehending *France*, in which They would willingly enter, which would draw *Spain* and all the Princes of *Germany* to desire to be admitted for their own Security.

Sweden is desirous of a separate Treaty with Holland

THE *Conde of Molina* was Ambassadour from *Spain*, near the King, a Man rather sincere than subtil, and so had the more Need of the Advice and Assistance of the Baron of *Isola*, who was, under the Title of Envoy from the Emperour, entirely trusted and supported (as most of the Emperour’s Ministers were) by the King of *Spain*; who being a *Burgundian*, born in those Parts which remain subject to *Spain*, had an implacable Hatred to the *French*; and by the Employments He had undergone in *Italy* and other Places, where He had been Ambassadour, had made himself so considerable, that He was become notoriously odious to the *French*, and was a Man of great Experience and very subtil Parts. Both those Ministers did heartily wish a Peace between *England* and *Holland*, with the Exclusion of *France*: But if that could not be, They had much rather the War should continue as it was, than that *France* should be comprehended in the Peace; for which They had some Reason. For at this Time the King of *Spain* died, which They had too many Reasons to believe would put an End to the Quiet of *Flanders*; and therefore would be glad that They might have the Assistance of *England* for their Defence, and in which *Holland* could not think itself unconcerned. The Probability of this, and the constant Intelligence

The same endeavoured by the Spanish and Imperial Ambassadors

gence They received from the *Hague*, “ that there
 “ were already Jealousies grown up between the *French*
 “ and the *Dutch*,” persuaded them, and They endeavoured to persuade the King, “ that *Holland* might be
 “ now induced to treat by themselves; or if They
 “ could not do that, but must proceed jointly with
 “ *France*, They would upon Assurance of the King’s
 “ Affection sever themselves from them, if They insisted upon any Thing that was not for the joint
 “ Benefit of all.” The King left them to do what They thought fit towards it, without undertaking any Thing on his Part until their fair Intentions were discerned, and then to assure them of his Majesty’s Inclinations to Peace upon just and honourable Conditions.

Holland and
 France jealous
 of each other.

THERE is no Doubt, there was a real Jealousy and Dissatisfaction between *France* and *Holland* at this Time. The *Dutch* complained, “ that the *French* had broken
 “ their Promise with them no less this Year than They
 “ had done the last: They had indeed declared and
 “ proclaimed a War, but They had done no Acts of
 “ Hostility; and whereas They were engaged that
 “ their Fleet should have joined with theirs in the
 “ Month of *May*, They had never been in View but
 “ at a great Distance, and suffered the *Dutch* to fight
 “ so many Days together without any Help from
 “ them. And upon their renewed Promise, They had
 “ again carried out their Fleet to meet with them in
 “ *August*; when They failed again, and left them exposed to the whole *English* Fleet: So that They were
 “ compelled with some Loss to get again into their
 “ Harbours.” And now They had a real Apprehension, that They might treat with *England* apart, and leave them to support the War at Sea by themselves, whilst They pursued their Expedition against *Flanders* upon the Death of the King of *Spain*.

ON the other Side, *France* as much complained of the Proceedings of the *Dutch*: “ That after They had
 “ received a great Sum of Money from them, without
 “ which They could not have set out their Fleet,
 They¹⁴⁰

“ They no more cared for a Conjunction with their
 “ Ships, nor went to that Length at Sea which They
 “ were bound to, to join with them; which They
 “ might have done, if They had continued their
 “ Course when They put to Sea in the Beginning of
 “ *June*. Instead of which They went over to the Coast
 “ of *England* to find the *English*, confessing thereby,
 “ that They had no Need of the Assistance of the
 “ *French* Ships; but leaving them to shift for them-
 “ selves. And afterwards, in the End of *August*, They
 “ came not to the Place They had promised to have
 “ done; by Reason of which Neglect and Breach of
 “ Faith, if a singular Act of Providence had not pre-
 “ vented it, their whole Fleet had fallen into the
 “ Hands of the *English*, as some Part of it did.” But
 that which made them likewise willing that this War
 should be at an End was, that now, the King of *Spain*
 being dead, They might enter upon a War with *Spain*;
 towards which They prepared *Manifestos* to publish
 upon the Matter of their Right, and already prepared
 Levies of Men, of which They could pretend no other
 Use: Yet They professed to the *Spanish* Ambassadour
 to have no such Design in their Purposes. However
 They would not enter upon any Treaty apart without
 the *Dutch*: Nor would *De Wit*, who entirely governed
 the Councils of *Holland*, be induced to consent to any
 Overtures made to separate, before or in the Treaty,
 from *France*; but gave Information of whatsoever was
 proposed by the Baron of *Isola*, or the *Spaniard* or any
 other Person, to that Purpose, and enlarged upon that
 Information more than was true, to endear his own
 Punctuality.

THE Mother of the King was then at *Paris*, having
 chosen rather to reside there than in *England*, since She
 saw the Resolution of a War between them, and desired
 Nothing more than to be an Instrument in the com-
 posing those Differences, which She thought were not
 good for either of the Crowns; and found now another
 Style in that Court than it had used to discourse in, and

*The Queen-
 Mother endeavours to bring
 about a Peace
 with France.*

*She sends the
Earl of St.
Albans into
England for
that Purpose.*

from the Time of the News of the Death of the King of *Spain*, that the *French* King had spoken as if He wished a Peace with *England*: Whereupon about the Time when the Parliament was prorogued, the Earl of *St. Albans* came to *London*, as to look to the Queen's Affairs, of which He was the great Intendant. He informed the King "of the good Temper the *French* Court was in, and that He was confident, if his Majesty would make any Advance towards a Peace, the Queen would be able to dispose that King to hear-ken to it, and to be a Mediator between *England* and *Holland*; and either to draw them to consent to what was just, or to separate from them: And He thought it very reasonable, that the Conditions should be referred to the King of *France*, who He was sure, upon such a Trust, would be very careful of the King's Honour and Interest." He professed "to have no Authority for any Thing He proposed, from the *French* King or any of his Ministers, but from the Queen's Conjectures and his own Observation: And if the King would give him a Commission, He would presently return, and would not be known to have any Powers, till He should find such a Conjuncture to own it, as that the Peace should be concluded before there should be any Discourse of a Treaty (which He knew the *French* most desired) lest *Spain* might interpose to perplex or delay it." And therefore He proposed, "that He might carry Instructions with him, upon what Conditions the King would be willing that a Peace should be established." His Majesty was resolved never to make the *French* King Arbitrator of the Conditions of the Peace, nor that it should be treated at *Paris*; and most of all, that the Earl of *St. Albans* should not have any Power to treat, "who," the King always used to say, "was more a *French* than an *English* Man:" And He likewise resolved, "that no Overture should be made towards Peace in his Name."

WHILST this was in Suspense, the Earl received Letters from *Paris*, in which He was advised "to re-

“ turn thither with Power to treat, and with Informa-
“ tion what Conditions the King expected; for that
“ his most *Christian* Majesty had so prepared the *Dutch*,
“ that He should have present Power to treat and con-
“ clude; and so all Things might be settled before
“ the Formality of a Treaty should be entered into or
“ heard of.” This did not alter the King’s Resolution
against authorizing the Earl to treat, or making *Paris*
the Place of the Treaty. But because the Letters were
written by *Monsieur Ruvigny*, who was a Person well
known to the King, and of whom He had a good
Opinion, and whom He well knew to be too wary
a Man to write in that Manner without having good
Authority to do so; his Majesty was contented “ that
“ the Earl should make Haste to *Paris*; and if He
“ found by *Ruvigny* that what They proposed was really
“ desired, He should undertake to know that the King
“ was very well inclined to Peace, and that himself
“ would willingly confer with any Body He would
“ carry him to; and whatsoever should be proposed,
“ He would with all possible Expedition transmit it to
“ the King:” With this farther Direction, “ that if
“ He were satisfied that their Intentions were real,
“ which the Alterations in their own Affairs made pro-
“ bable, He should endeavour, by the Queen or *Ru-*
“ *vigny*, to discover whether it would not be possible
“ to persuade that King to treat apart and exclude
“ *Holland*; and if it appeared to him that was not to
“ be hoped, that at least his Majesty would think it
“ reasonable, that the *Dutch* should restore whatsoever
“ Fort or other Place They had taken upon the Coast
“ of *Guinea*, and likewise pay a good Sum of Money
“ to the King towards the Charge of the War.”

THE Earl of *St. Albans* had no Mind to return with
no larger a Commission, and pretended to know “ that
“ this was not the Way to advance a Treaty, and that
“ He could as well write what the King directed, and
“ know again by Letter what They thought of it; and
“ therefore He would stay and dispatch the Business
“ which

“ which the Queen sent him about, before He would “ return.” But when He saw the King was contented He should stay; rather than have Nothing to do in the Treaty, He chose to be at the Beginning of it, and thought He should not be afterwards left out; and so offered the King to depart without farther Delay.

THE King had from the Beginning informed the Chancellor of all that the Earl had said to him from his Arrival: And when He had received those Letters from *Ruvigny*, He sent him to shew them to him; and himself came presently whilst the Earl was there, and directed him to prepare the Instructions for him, which the Earl likewise desired He might do. The Chancellor very well knew, that his Credit with the King was much lessened, and that of the Lord *Arlington* much increased, who did not like that He should meddle in the Affairs proper to his Office: Besides He had no Mind to be intrusted in the Transactions with *France*, of whose Want of Faith He had too much Experience; which would neither be grateful to the Queen Mother nor to the Earl. And therefore He very earnestly besought the King, “ that, it being the “ Lord *Arlington’s* Province, all those Dispatches might “ pass through his Hands.” The King said, “ that “ He knew the Lord *Arlington* desired his Help, “ and that He should prepare all [those Dispatches,” which He required him to do: And the Earl of *St. Albans* seemed very much to desire, “ that “ not only his Instructions might be prepared by him, but that He might always receive his Majesty’s Pleasure signified by him, upon any material Point that “ should arise;” which the King promised him He should do. Upon which the other, who durst not decline those Commands He was so unwilling to obey, humbly desired his Majesty, “ that the whole Matter “ might be first communicated to that Committee of “ the Council, with which He consulted his most secret Affairs; and that the Earl of *St. Albans* might “ be present at the Debate; and that whatever He “ should

“ should be appointed to put into Writing might be
 “ perused at that Board, and if it required his Maje-
 “ sty’s Signature, it should be presented to him by the
 “ Secretary:” All which his Majesty consented to.
 And all being done according to what is mentioned be-
 fore, the Earl departed for *France*.

*He returns
 into France to
 negotiate a
 Peace.*

IT is very true, there was yet no visible Alteration in the King’s Confidence towards the Chancellor with Reference to his Business, in which his Majesty had no Reserve, and spent as much Time with him, and vouchsafed as often to go to his House, as He had ever used to do. But when He offered to speak to him of other Matters, as He could not forbear to do, which He thought concerned him more than his most publick Transactions; He found his Countenance presently shut, no Attention, and no Answer, or such a one as shewed He was not pleased: And He took all Occasions to make others see, that He was advised only by him in what immediately related to his Business, and not more in that than by other Men.

WHEN the Earl came to *Paris*, He found the *French* less upon their Guard than He expected: And the King himself frankly expressed himself “ to wish an End
 “ of this War, and that He might be possessed of the
 “ King’s Friendship, which He valued exceedingly;” and referred to *Monsieur Lionne*, “ who” his Majesty said “ was prepared to speak to him.” *Monsieur De Lionne* kept himself within Generals, “ of the Benefit
 “ that *England* would receive by a Peace, which made
 “ his *Christian* Majesty desire to promote it, and never
 “ more to depart from his Friendship. That He was
 “ obliged in Honour now not to quit the *Dutch*,
 “ having entered into a Treaty with them when He
 “ had no Imagination that there would be a War be-
 “ tween them and *England*; that He had been often sorry
 “ for it, and had given them just Occasion to com-
 “ plain, that He forbore longer than He ought to have
 “ done to give them Help: And therefore He could not
 “ now leave them to themselves, except They were
 “ obstinate,

“obstinate, and refused to make Peace upon just Conditions; and then He would renounce them.” But when He found that the Earl had no Power, and that He talked of Money to be given for the Charge of the War, and expected to have particular Overtures to send to the King; He brake off the Discourse till He could confer with his Master.

WITHIN two or three Days *Monsieur De Lionne* visited the Earl, and told him, “that if any Thing were to be done towards a Peace, there must be no Time lost: It was yet in the Power of the most *Christian* King to bring it to pass upon just and honourable Terms; but He knew not how long it would continue in his Power; for He confessed the *Dutch* took themselves to be so much behindhand, that They had no Mind to Peace, believing They had now Advantage. That it was never heard of, that after a War between two Nations, upon the making Peace, either Side consented to pay the Charge of the War: Therefore any Expectation of that, or but Mention of it, would shut the Door against any Treaty.” He gave two Papers to him to send to the King, Both under his own Hand, which his Majesty had the Choice of, and which the *Dutch* would consent to; “but if that should be required, (4e) the Treaty was at an End before it was begun, and the Sword must determine it.”

*Overtures
made by
France.*

ONE of the Papers contained an Equivalent, of which his Majesty might make his Choice; whether “all Things should continue in the State and Posture in which they were at present, either Side enjoying what They had got and sustaining what They had lost, and so all Things to remain as they were before the War;” or, “that a true and just Computation should be made of the Losses on Both Sides, and They who were found to have received most Damage should be repaired at the Charge of the other.” The other Paper was, “that if his Majesty approved of either of these Expedients, He should himself

“make

“Choice of the Place where the Treaty should be,
 “whither all Parties should send their Ambassadors :”
 But then the *French* King desired, “that his Majesty
 “would not make Choice of any Place in the King of
 “*Spain’s* Dominions ;” and the *Dutch* Ambassador
 there had nominated *Cologne* or *Frankfort* or *Hamburg*.
 And the Earl of *St. Albans* immediately sent away an
 Express with those two Papers to the King, upon Re-
 ceipt whereof the Council were summoned.

THERE was no Hope of Money, which some, not
 reasonably, had expected should be paid whenever a
 Peace should be made ; and it had been mentioned in
Holland as a Thing They expected should be propound-
 ed, it may be, that it might be propounded and rejected.
 Then the Dispatch of whatsoever should be agreed con-
 cerned the King very much, that the *Dutch* might not
 put to Sea, nor discover that the King had no Fleet to
 set out ; for the Spring was not yet come, though ap-
 proaching. There appeared little Difficulty in the
 Choice of the Equivalent, for the *English* had taken Which the
 King approves much more from the *Dutch* than They had taken from
England ; and the other Computation would be end-
 less, and liable to very difficult Examinations : So that
 by an unanimous Advice the King resolved to choose
 the first Equivalent.

BUT then the Place for the Treaty was not so easy to Difficulties
 about settling
 the Place for
 the Treaty. be chosen. The most natural had been *Brussels*, *Ant-*
werp, or some other large City in *Flanders*, which were
 all neutral Places, and to which all Parties might re-
 pair with the same Ease and Security. Whereas all the
 Places mentioned in *Germany* were at so great a Dis-
 tance, that the Summer would be far entered into,
 and so, many Acts of Hostility pass, before the Am-
 bassadors could meet ; and the *English* must pass
 through the Enemy’s Country thither : Therefore
 there could be no Thought of any of those Places.
 Then the King of *France* had taken upon him to ex-
 clude *Flanders*, which He had no Power to do, and it
 was as desirable to the *Dutch* as to the King : And
 therefore

therefore it was thought reasonable, that the King should insist upon some good Town there, of which there was Choice enough; and if *Holland* should approve it *France* could not reject it. But on the other Hand it was clearly discerned, that *France* would never send Ambassadors into a Country which He meant at the same Time to invade; and that his Majesty knew very well to be the Intention, and the Ground of that King's desiring the Peace, which it was plain enough the *Dutch* did not desire, and were only drawn to consent to a Treaty by the positive Demand of *France*, which They durst not contradict: And therefore it concerned the King to preserve that good Disposition, and that the *French* Ambassadors might come fully instructed to concur with the *English* in what should be just, and prevent any insolent Carriage of the *Dutch*, or the *Dane*, who was likewise to have his Ambassadors upon the Place.

UPON those Reasons the Express returned with his Majesty's Consent and Election of the first Equivalent, and "that as soon as He should know that the *Dutch* had consented to it, his Majesty would propose some equal Place for the Treaty." And as soon as the Express was dispatched, his Majesty entered upon the Debate of a fit Place for the Treaty; and said, "that He had a Proposition then made to him by Sir *William Coventry*, that was of such a Nature as much surprised him, as He believed it would the Lords; yet He had not thought enough to dislike or condemn it:" And so bade the other to propose it. He, with some short Apology which He did not use to make, said, "that He perceived there would be little less Difficulty in agreeing upon a Place for the Treaty than upon any Doubts which might arise in it; for if the King of *France* was to be gratified in the Exclusion of *Flanders*, it would be very inconvenient to oblige the King to send into *Germany*, which by the great Delay would deprive the King of the greatest Benefit He expected from the Treaty;

"the

“ the speedy Dispatch whereof would be attended
“ with the greatest Conveniences: Therefore He had
“ proposed to the King, *that He would immediately*
“ *write to the States-General without acquainting*
“ *France with it, and offer to send his Ambassadors to*
“ *treat the Peace at the Hague, that it might be speedily*
“ *concluded, which would otherwise take up much*
“ *Time in sending for any Resolution to the States upon*
“ *what should arise. If They consented to it, it would*
“ *probably be attended with Success, the general Affection*
“ *of the People being well known to desire Peace: And*
“ *if They refused it, the World would conclude that They*
“ *would have no Peace, when They would not treat about*
“ *it; and that his Majesty would never have done them*
“ *the Honour to have sent his Ambassadors Home to*
“ *them, if He had intended to deny any Thing that was*
“ *reasonable to them.*”

It was very new, and thought of by Nobody but the Lord Arlington and Sir William Coventry, who had communicated it together; and the Objection of the Condescension that it would seem to most Men, as if the King sent to beg a Peace at their own Doors, was obvious to all Men: But that would have been an Objection against admitting it to have been at *Paris*. But the *States* not being upon any Level that pretended to an Equality, the probable Convenience or Benefit that might attend it was only to be considered; and the Affection and Desire of the People generally to Peace was so notorious, that there was Reason to believe that They would not be willing that a Treaty begun amongst them should end but with Effect: And therefore it was unanimously agreed, that the Advice should be pursued. But then it was a new Doubt, how the Message or Overture or Letter, for the Form was not yet thought of, should be conveyed; for the sending a Trumpet or Express had much more of Application than the Thing itself: And it was to be wished, that it might be gone out of the King's Hands before the Answer could come from

from *Paris*, lest new Instance should be made for a particular Place.

It was at last resolved, that the *Swedes* Ambassadors (both *France* and *Holland* having accepted the Mediation of that Crown) should be consulted with, to engage their Minister at the *Hague* to deliver it to the *States General*; for there was some Apprehension, that if *De Wit* knew of it, it might be considered only by that Committee which was deputed for that Affair, and never be brought to the *States*: And the adjusting all that was commended to the Chancellor, who presently sent for the Ambassadors, and found them very ready to perform any Office which might bring them upon the Stage in the Treaty. And upon Communication together, They were willing to send a Servant of their own to the *Hague*, who should deliver to their Ambassador the King's Message to the *States General*, as an Effect of their Mediation and Credit with the King. And so it was delivered, not in the Form of a Letter, but of a Message in the third Person to the *States General*, signed by the King and under the Signet; and the Ambassadors sent a Gentleman in Post with it.

The Dutch
refuse to re-
store Pole-
roone accord-
ing to the O-
vertures.

BUT within two Days a new Alarm comes from *France*; and all that was done proved to be to no Purpose. When They received the King's Answer, They could not but acknowledge that it was as fair as They could expect; and *Monsieur De Lionne* shewed it as such to the *Dutch* Ambassador, who finding that He was satisfied with it, and by him, that the King was so too, fell into much Passion, and declared "that it was not according to the Consent He had given to the King and to *Monsieur De Lionne*; and "that He must protest against any Treaty to be entered into upon this Declaration." He put him then in Mind, "that He had informed the King, in "his Presence, *that there was an Article in the late "Treaty between England and Holland, by which They "were obliged to deliver up the Island of Poleroone in*
the

“ *the East-Indies to the East-India Company of London,*
 “ *which They had formerly consented to with Cromwell,*
 “ *but had neither delivered it then nor yet, and were re-*
 “ *solved rather to continue the War than to part with it ;*
 “ *which He had declared, when with Reference to*
 “ *all other Things He consented to the Alternative :*
 “ *And if the King would not release that Article of*
 “ *the former Treaty, his Masters would not enter*
 “ *upon any new.*”

WHETHER this was true or no cannot be known.
 But *Monsieur De Lionne* came in great Disorder to the
 Lord of *St. Albans*, and told him all that the Amba-
 sador had said, and confessed it “ to be very true,
 “ and that the King remembered it well, and pro-
 “ mised that Article should be released: But that He,
 “ not clearly understanding the Delivery of it to be
 “ contained in a former Treaty, and knowing it had
 “ been many Years in the Possession of the *Dutch*, and
 “ that it still remained so, thought it had been com-
 “ prehended in the Alternative, and forgot to insert
 “ it in the Paper that was sent to the King, for which
 “ He asked a thousand Pardons ; and made it his Suit
 “ to the King that He would yield to it, and that a
 “ Treaty that was so necessary to the Good of *Christen-*
 “ *dom* might not be extinguished upon his Negligence
 “ and Want of Memory ;” which was a strange Ex-
 cuse for a Minister of his known Sagacity.

THE Earl of *St. Albans* refused to transmit any such
 Tergiversation to the King, and said, “ He knew the
 “ King would never consent to it ; and that this Man-
 “ ner of Proceeding, after that his Majesty had con-
 “ sented to what themselves proposed, would shut
 “ out all future Confidence of their Sincerity.” *Mon-*
sieur De Lionne was exceedingly troubled and out of
 Countenance, as a Man conscious to himself of a great
 Oversight, and desired him, “ that He would meet
 “ the *Dutch* Ambassador at his Lodging, that They
 “ might together endeavour to remove him from the
 “ Obstinacy He professed ;” which the Earl was con-
 VOL. II. Q tented

tented to do, and the Ambassadour, how unwillingly soever, was prevailed with to meet at the Time appointed: But They were no sooner met, and *Monsieur De Lionne* entered upon the Argument of *Poleroone*, but the Ambassadour fell into a rude Passion, and said, "the War should determine it." And when the Earl of *St. Albans* began to speak of the Unreasonableness of the Demand, and entered upon the foul Manner in which They had first taken that Island from the *English*, who were in Possession of it; He told him, "that He had Nothing to say to him," and used much other Language unfit for the other to hear, and which He had returned with Interest, if *Monsieur De Lionne* had not interposed, and been very desirous the Conference should end, the Ambassadour's Insolence being not to be endured: And so They parted, *Lionne* seeming very much offended; and He complained to the King, and the Earl gave the Account of all to his Majesty.

THE *French* King was no less surpris'd and offended when He heard what Message the King had sent to the *States* (which He was advertised of by an Express from *Holland*), than *De Wit* had been at the Delivery of it, who presently knew the Drift of it, and could not forbear to tell the *States*, "that the Design was only to stir up the People against the Magistrates, and indeed to make them the Judges of the Conditions of the Peace:" And He knew well that the People generally were no Friends to the *East-India* Company (where himself had a great Stock), and therefore would never consent that a Treaty entered into should break only upon their Interest; which likewise was the Reason, why They had provided that that Particular should be first consented to, before any Treaty should be agreed upon. And hereupon He prevailed upon the *States General* forthwith to declare in the Negative, "that the Treaty should not be at the *Hague*." But at the same Time, after the naming again of *Cologne* and *Francfort*, They added,

"that

“ that if the King desired to do them the Honour to
“ appoint it in any Place of their Dominions, which
“ They did not presume to propose; They should
“ consent that it might be at *Breda*, or *Maestricht*,”
or a Place or two that They named: And this was
resolved before the People heard that the King had
named the *Hague*, and wondered and murmured at
their Refusal.

THE King of *France* took it ill, that at a Time
when He proceeded with so much Openness, and had
given the first Rise to a Treaty, and opened the Door
which the *Hollander* peevishly shut against it, by his
own offering the Alternative, which the King had so
far approved as to make his Election; He should at
the same Time, without communicating it to him,
send this Overture to the *Hague*: Which troubled him
the more, that it gave him Matter of Jealousy to ap-
prehend, that there was some other underhand Treaty
that was concealed from him, and contrived by the
Baron of *Isola*, who He knew had been privately at
the *Hague* and had Conference with *De Wit*. And the
same Imagination did more perplex the Queen Mother
and the Earl of *St. Albans*, who looked upon this as a
Device to exclude them from having any Share in the
Peace; the Earl having digested the Conclusion in his
own Breast, that in what Place soever the Treaty should
be held, He should without Doubt be intrusted in
the Managery of it. However the King could not
own his Part of the Dislike, since his Majesty might
without any Violation of Friendship make the Over-
ture by Message to the *Hague*, as well as to or by
him: Therefore He seemed to take no Exception to
it, and only sent the King Word, “ that He believed
“ the *Dutch* would quickly discern, that this Conde-
“ scension in his Majesty proceeded from some Ex-
“ pectation of a Party amongst the People to second
“ it; and therefore He was confident They would
“ never consent to treat at the *Hague*.” But He pro-
posed, “ as the best Way for Expedition, that it might
Q 2 “ be

“be at *Dover*,” which He advised his Majesty not to reject: “For if it were once begun there, it might possibly, and He would further it all He could, quickly be removed to *Canterbury*, and probably might be concluded in *London*.”

BUT before this Message arrived, the other new Demand of *Poleroone*, with *Monsieur De Lionne's* Acknowledgment of the Defect of his Memory, and that He ought to have inserted it in the Paper that contained the Alternative, with all the Excuses He made for it, was received; which seemed to put an End to all Hopes of Peace. The King was highly incensed, and looked upon it as an Affront contrived by Both Parties to amuse him. Every Body concluded, that there could be no Safety in depending upon any Thing that could be offered from *France*, when They could never be without as reasonable a Pretence as They had at present, to disclaim or avoid any Concession They had made in Writing. That the Particular demanded could never be consented to by his Majesty, without swerving from the common Rules of Justice, and the Violation of his own Honour. That though it did not immediately concern his Majesty in his own Interest and the Interest of the Crown, which was an Argument used in *France* for his Majesty's not insisting upon it, it was however an unquestionable and a very considerable Interest of his Subjects, which He was in Justice bound to maintain, and which in Justice He had no Power to release. It was an Interest so valuable, that *Cromwell* had insisted upon it so resolutely, that They had consented to it as a principal Article of the Peace He made with them; by which He gained great Reputation with the People. And his Majesty had thought himself so much concerned in Honour not to suffer his Subjects to be deprived of that Right which *Cromwell* had vindicated (though by his Death it came not to be executed), that He would never consent to the Treaty that had been concluded since his happy Return, until They consented

*The King
highly offended*

to and renewed the same Article, and promised the Redelivery of the said Island to the *English* by such a Day: And their having broken their Faith in not delivering it according to the last Treaty, and with very offensive Circumstances, his Majesty had declared to be a principal Cause of the War, and made them unquestionably to appear the first Aggressor. And in that Respect, his Honour could not receive a more mortal Wound than in releasing that Article, which concerned the Estates of other Men, and would in the Opinion of the World draw the Guilt of the War upon himself, or, which would be as bad, the Reproach of having purchased a Peace upon very dishonourable Conditions to himself, at the Charge and with the Estates of his Subjects.

UPON the Whole, the King resolved rather to undergo the Hazard of the War upon what Disadvantage soever, than to consent to a Proposition so dishonourable: And a Dispatch was presently sent to the Earl of *St. Albans*, with a very lively Resentment “ of the “ Indignity offered to the King, in receding from “ what was offered by themselves, and in asking what “ He was resolved never to grant.” And all were enjoined to review all that had been resolved for the War, and to give the utmost Advancement to it that was possible: And without Doubt, if *Spain* had yet put itself into any Posture to defend itself against the Power that was even ready to invade it, and to act any Part towards the Support of a common Interest; the King would hardly have been persuaded to have hearkened more to any Propositions from *France*.

NOTWITHSTANDING all this, new Overtures and new Importunities were sent from *France*. “ It was “ true, that the *Dutch* had always protested against “ making a Peace or consenting to a Treaty without “ the Release of *Poleroone*; which his *Christian Ma-* New Overtures from France. “ jesty had consented to, and could not recede from “ it without their Consent, though the Mention of it “ had been unfortunately omitted by *Monsieur De* “ *Lionne*;

“ *Lionne*: But his Majesty promised and engaged ⁽⁴⁰⁸⁾
 “ his Royal Word, that when the Treaty should be
 “ entered into, He would use all his Credit and Au-
 “ thority to persuade the *States General* to recede from
 “ their Obstinacy, and to make no Alteration in the
 “ last Treaty; but that all Things should remain as
 “ had been settled by it. And if He could not pre-
 “ vail with them to satisfy him therein, as He did
 “ fear that there was upon their particular Interest
 “ some peremptory Resolution fixed, from whence
 “ They would not be removed as to the Main; yet
 “ in that Case He did in no Degree despair of ob-
 “ liging them to give a considerable Sum of Money
 “ for Recompense thereof, which He desired might
 “ satisfy the King, who would find himself at much
 “ Ease by it. And if the Commissioners once met
 “ and the Treaty was begun, it would not be dis-
 “ solved before a Peace should be concluded; and
 “ that the *French Ambassadors*, as soon as They
 “ met, should propose a Cessation from all Acts of
 “ Hostility, which He expected should be as soon
 “ yielded to as proposed; and that already They had
 “ promised *that their Fleet should remain in their Har-*
 “ *bours till the Middle of May*, before which Time the
 “ Treaty might well begin.” And from the present
 Time the *French King* promised, “ that no hostile
 “ Act should be done by him, and that his own Fleet
 “ should not stir out of their Port; and that his Am-
 “ bassadors should in all Things behave themselves
 “ as his Majesty could wish, that Particular only of
 “ *Poleroone* excepted, in which They should do as
 “ He had promised.”

THE King had by this Time had Recourse to all
 the Inventions and Devices, which might yet enable
 him to set out a Fleet that might be able to fight the
 Enemy; but in vain. He found all Men of the same
 Opinion They had been, that He must be upon the
 Defensive in the Manner expressed before, and expect
 the End of the Summer before He could draw his
 Ships

Ships together; and that there was an universal Impatience for Peace: So that when the Warmth of his Indignation was a little remitted, He was very willing to hear any Thing that might revive the Hope of a Treaty, when this last Overture from *Paris* arrived; upon which He presently convened the Council, that He might take a speedy Resolution what He was to do, for He saw many Conveniences might be lost by the not speedily entering upon the Treaty, if it were to be entered upon at all. The Protestation and Promise of *France* to assist in all Things, that Particular only excepted, for his Majesty's Service, and his Promise even in that, made him willing to believe that they might be real: The Hope of Recompense for it seemed little inferiour to the Redelivery of the Island, and was an equal Satisfaction to his Majesty's Honour. And it seemed the more probable to be compassed, in that *De Wit* in his private Conference with the Baron of *Isola*, in all his Passion in which He would not endure the Mention of the Delivery of *Poleroone*, and said, "that the *States* would perish before They would part with it," concluded, "that He would not say that They might not be persuaded to give some Recompense for it."

AND many believed that the *East-India* Company, which was only concerned in the Interest of it, would choose rather to receive a good Recompense than the Island itself, which was a barren, sandy Soil, which yielded no Fruit, but only Nutmegs, which was the sole Commodity it bore, and is a Commodity of great Value. But when They were bound to give it up to *Cromwell*, there had been immediate Order sent to cut down all the Trees upon the Island; which Order would be now again repeated: And so no less than seven Years must expire before any Fruit could be expected from thence. And it was so far from any *English* Factory, and so near to the *Dutch*, that They would easily possess themselves of it again when They had a Mind to it. And therefore if the Company

might have Money, or such a Quantity of Money, or such a Quantity of Nutmegs delivered to them, as might, besides being enough for the Expence of *England*, bear a Part in the foreign Trade (which had been mentioned by some Merchants of that Company), it might be reasonably preferable to the Island. (409)

WHATSOEVER Resolution should in the End be taken, this Expedient of Recompence gave a Hint to a Counsel that had not yet been thought of, which was to leave the Business of *Poleroone* to the sole Managery of the *East-India* Company, who should be advised to choose some Members of their own, who should go over with the Ambassadors, and receive all Advice and Assistance from them in the Conduct of their Pretences: And They would be the Witnesses of what the King insisted upon on their Behalf; and would likewise judge, if Nothing prevented the Peace but that Interest, how far it should be insisted on.

The East-India Company consulted in Relation to Poleroone.

THE *East-India* Company was sent for, and were told “ that the King had Hope of a Treaty for Peace, “ which He presumed would be welcome to them: “ He heard that the greatest Difficulty and Obstruction that was like to arise would be concerning their “ Interest in the Island of *Poleroone*, which He was resolved never to abandon. But because He heard “ likewise that the *Dutch* did intend to offer a Recompense rather than to restore the Place, and that the “ Recompense might be such as might be as agreeable to them (of which He would not take upon him to “ judge, but leave it entirely to themselves), He had “ given them this timely Notice of it, that They might “ bethink themselves what was fit for them to do, upon “ a Prospect of all that might probably occur; and “ that They might make Choice of such Persons “ amongst themselves, who best understood their Affairs, to the End that when the Treaty should be “ agreed upon and the Place appointed, and his Majesty had resolved what Ambassadors He would “ send (of all which They should have seasonable Notice),

“ tice), those Persons elected by them as their Com-
 “ missioners might go over with the Ambassadors ;
 “ that when that Point came into Debate, and the
 “ *Dutch* should call some of their *East-India* Company
 “ to inform them, They likewise might be ready to
 “ advertise his Ambassadors of whatsoever might ad-
 “ vance their Pretences : And if a Recompense was to
 “ be considered, They might enter into that Consulta-
 “ tion with the other Deputies ; and that They should
 “ be sure to receive all the Advice and Assistance from
 “ his Ambassadors, that They could require or stand
 “ in Need of.” The Company received this Informa-
 “ tion from his Majesty with all Demonstration of Duty
 “ and Submission, giving humble Thanks for his Maje-
 “ sty’s Bounty and Care of their Interest ; and said,
 “ They would not fail to make Choice of a Committee
 “ to attend the Ambassadors, when They should
 “ know it would be seasonable.”

THE King thought it now Time to receive the Ad-vice of his whole Council-Board upon this Affair, which had been hitherto only debated before the Committee for foreign Affairs : And so They being assembled, an Account was given of all that had passed, with all its Circumstances, in *France*, and in *Holland* by the Baron of *Isola* and by the *Swedes* Ambassadors. And his Majesty said thereupon, “ that He had yet taken no Resolution, and had been so provoked by the Mis-
 “ carriage of *France*, that He would have been glad
 “ to have put himself into a better Posture, and not
 “ thought farther of a Treaty, till there should appear
 “ a more favourable Conjuncture : But They now un-
 “ derstood as much as He did with Reference to the
 “ State He was in both at Home and abroad, and that
 “ He was resolved to follow their Advice.”

ALL the Objections which had been foreseen before, and the Considerations thereupon, were renewed and again debated : And in the End there was a general Concurrence, “ that his Majesty should embrace the
 “ Opportunity of a Treaty ; and if a reasonable Peace
 “ could

*The King con-
 sults the Privy
 Council upon
 the Overtures
 made by
 France.*

*Which advises
 him to enter
 upon the
 Treaty.*

“ could be obtained, it would be very grateful to the
 “ whole Kingdom, that was weary of the War; and
 “ that his Majesty should lose no Time in returning
 “ such a Dispatch to *Paris*, as might bring on the
 “ Treaty.” And some of the Lords proceeded so far
 as to declare, “ that the Consideration of *Poleroone* was
 “ not of that Importance, nor could be thought so by
 “ the *East-India* Company themselves, as that the in-
 “ sisting upon it should deprive the Kingdom of a
 “ Peace that was so necessary for it.” But the King
 thought the entering upon that Argument was not yet
 seasonable: But He gave Order for the Dispatch to be
 prepared for *France*.

THERE were two material Points not yet deter-
 mined, the first of which was fit to be inserted into the
 present Dispatch; which was the Nomination of the
 Place where the Treaty should be. Some were of
 Opinion, “ that his Majesty should lay Hold of the
 “ Overture that had been made from *France*, which
 “ was since likewise confirmed by *Holland*, that the
 “ Treaty should be at *Dover*.” But They changed their
 Minds, when They well considered that the same Ob-
 jections would be naturally made against *Dover* on the
 King’s Behalf, that had been made by the *Dutch* against
 the *Hague*; and that the People there, and less at *Can-*
terbury, were not incapable of any Impressions, which
 the numerous Trains of the *French* and the *Dutch* would
 be ready to imprint in them. In a Word; there was
 much more fit to be considered upon that Point, than
 is fit to be remembered. The Conclusion was, “ that
 Breda agreed “ *Breda*, which had been offered by the *Dutch*, should
 to be the Place “ be the Place the King would accept;” which was
 of treating. added to the Dispatch for *Paris*, and presently sent
 away.

THE other Matter undetermined of was the Choice
 of Ambassadors, which had been never entered upon.
 The King had spoken with the Chancellor, what Per-
 sons would be fit to be employed in that Negotiation,
 when the Time should be ripe for it; and took Notice,

as He did frequently, of the small Choice He had of Men well acquainted with Business of that Nature: Upon which He had named to the King the Lord *Hollis*, who had been lately Ambassadour in *France*, and was in all Respects equal to any Business, and Mr. *Henry Coventry* of his Bedchamber, who had shewed so great Abilities in his late Negotiation in *Sweden*. Upon the naming of whom his Majesty said, "They were both very fit, and that He would think of no other." So that when all other Particulars were adjusted with Reference to the Treaty, the King, without farther consulting it, declared, "that He intended to send those two his Ambassadors for the Treaty," before either of them knew or thought of the Employment. And when his Majesty told them of it, He bade them repair to the Chancellor for their Instructions. And this gave new Thoughts of Heart to the Lord *Arlington*, who had designed himself and Sir *Thomas Clifford*, who was newly made a Privy Counsellor and Controller of the Household upon the Death of Sir *Hugh Pollard*, for the Performance of that Service; and thought himself the better qualified for it by his late Alliance in *Holland*, by his Marriage with the Daughter of *Monsieur Beverwaert*, a natural Son of Prince *Maurice*. And this Disappointment went very near him; though the other had not the least Thought that He had any such Thing in his Heart, but advised it purely as They were the fittest Persons who could be thought of; and their Abilities, which were well thought of before, were very notorious in this Negotiation.

THE *Swedish* Ambassadors, who were the only Mediators, prepared likewise to go to the Treaty, having agreed with the King, "that if the Treaty should not produce a Peace," of which They who hoped most were not confident, "that Crown would immediately declare for the King, and unite itself to his Interest both against the *Dutch* and the *French*;" their Army at that Time, being held the best in *Europe*,
under

Lord Hollis and Mr. Henry Coventry appointed Plenipotentiaries.

The Swedish Ambassadors Mediators.

under the Command of their General *Wrangel*, being near the *States Dominions*. And for the better confirming them in that Disposition, the Chancellor had brought the Baron of *Isola* to a Conference with the *Swedes* Ambassadors, and begun that Treaty between them which was shortly after finished, and known by the Style of the *Triple Alliance*, that was the first Act that detached the *Swede* from *France*: And for the present the King himself found Means to supply the Crown of *Sweden* with a Sum of Money for the Support of their Army.

ALL Things being thus adjusted, and the Place of the Treaty being on all Hands agreed to be *Breda*, and Notice being sent from *Paris*, “that their Ambassadors were departed from thence;” the King thought himself as much concerned in the Expedition in Respect of the Cessation, which the *French* promised to obtain in the very Entrance into the Treaty; and it was now the Month of *May*. And so his Ambassadors were dispatched, and arrived there before the Middle of that Month, with an Equipage worthy their Master who sent them.

*The Death of
the Earl of
Southampton.*

THERE happened at this Time an Accident that made a fatal Breach into the Chancellor's Fortune, with a Gap wide enough to let in all that Ruin which soon after was poured upon him. The Earl of *Southampton*, the Treasurer, with whom He had an entire fast Friendship, and who, when They were together, had Credit enough with the King and at the Board to prevent, at least to defer, any very unreasonable Resolution, was now ready to expire with the Stone; a Disease that had kept him in great Pain many Months, and for which He had sent to *Paris* for a Surgeon to be cut, but had deferred it too long by the Physicians not agreeing what the Disease was: So that at last He grew too weak to apply that Remedy. They who had with so much Industry, and as They thought Certainty, prevailed with the King at *Oxford* to have removed him from that Office, had never since inter-

mitted

mitted the pursuing the Design, and persuaded his Majesty, "that his Service had suffered exceedingly "by his receding from his Purpose;" and did not think their Triumph notorious enough, if They suffered him to die in the Office: Insomuch as when He grew so weak that it is true He could not sign any Orders with his Hand, which was four or five Days before his Death, They had again persuaded the King to send for the Staff. But the Chancellor again prevailed with him not to do so ungracious an Act to a Servant who had served him and his Father so long and so eminently, to so little Purpose as the ravishing an Office unseasonably, which must within five or six Days fall into his Hands; as it did within less Time by his Death.

HE was a Person of extraordinary Parts, of Facul- *His Character* ties very discerning and a Judgment very profound, great Eloquence in his Delivery, without the least Affectation of Words, for He always spake best on the sudden. In the Beginning of the Troubles, He was looked upon amongst those Lords who were least inclined to the Court, and so most acceptable to the People: He was in Truth not obliged by the Court, and thought himself oppressed by it, which his great Spirit could not bear; and so He had for some Years forbore to be much seen there, which was imputed to a Habit of Melancholy, to which He was naturally inclined, though it appeared more in his Countenance than in his Conversation, which to those with whom He was acquainted was very cheerful.

THE great Friendship that had been between their Fathers made many believe, that there was a Confidence between the Earl of *Essex* and him; which was true to that Degree as could be between Men of so different Natures and Understandings. And when They came to the Parliament in the Year 1640, They appeared Both unsatisfied with the Prudence and Politicks of the Court, and were not reserved in declaring it, when the great Officers were called in Question for
great

great Transgressions in their several Administrations : But in the Prosecution there was great Difference in their Passions and their Ends. The Earl of *Effex* was a great Lover of Justice, and could not have been tempted to consent to the Oppression of an innocent Man : But in the discerning the several Species of Guilt, and in the proportioning the Degrees of Punishment to the Degree of Guilt, He had no Faculties or Measure of judging ; nor was above the Temptation of general Prejudice, and it may be of particular Disobligations and Resentments, which proceeded from the Weakness of his Judgment, not the Malice of his Nature. The Earl of *Southampton* was not only an exact Observer of Justice, but so clear sighted a Discerner of all the Circumstances which might disguise it, that no false or fraudulent Colour could impose upon him ; and of so sincere and impartial a Judgment, that no Prejudice to the Person of any Man made him less awake to his Cause ; but believed that there is *aliquid et in Hostem Nefas*, and that a very ill Man might be very unjustly dealt with.

THIS Difference of Faculties divided them quickly in the Progress of those Businesses, in the Beginning whereof They were Both of one Mind. They Both thought the Crown had committed great Excesses in the Exercise of its Power, which the one thought could not be otherwise prevented, than by its being deprived of it : The Consequence whereof the other too well understood, and that the absolute taking away that Power that might do Hurt, would likewise take away some of that which was necessary for the doing Good ; and that a Monarch cannot be deprived of a fundamental Right, without such a lasting Wound to Monarchy itself, that They who have most Shelter from it and stand nearest to it, the Nobility, could not continue long in their native Strength, if the Crown received a Maim. Which if the Earl of *Effex* had comprehended, who set as great a Price upon Nobility as any Man living did, He could never have been wrought upon

upon to have contributed to his own Undoing; which the other knew was unavoidable, if the King were undone. So They were Both satisfied that the Earl of *Strafford* had countenanced some high Proceedings, which could not be supported by any Rules of Justice, though the Policy of *Ireland*, and the constant Course⁽³⁾ observed in the Government of that Kingdom, might have excused and justified many of the high Proceedings with which He was reproached: And They who had now the Advantage-Ground, by being thought to be most solicitous for the Liberty of the Subject, and most vigilant that the same Outrages might not be transplanted out of the other Kingdom into this, looked upon him as having the strongest Influence upon the Counsels of *England* as well as Governour of *Ireland*. Then He had declared himself so averse and irreconcilable to the Sedition and Rebellion of the *Scots*, that the whole Nation had contracted so great an Animosity against him, that less than his Life could not secure them from the Fears They had conceived of him: And this Fury of theirs met with a full Concurrence from those of the *English*, who could not compass their own Ends without their Help. And this Combination too soon drew the Earl of *Essex*, who had none of their Ends, into their Party, to satisfy his Pride and his Passion, in removing a Man who seemed to have no Regard for him; for the Stories, which were then made of Disobligations from the Earl of *Strafford* towards the Earl of *Clanrickard*, were without any Foundation of Truth.

THE Earl of *Southampton*, who had Nothing of Obligation, and Somewhat of Prejudice to some high Acts of Power which had been exercised by the Earl of *Strafford*, was not unwilling that they should be so far looked into and examined, as might raise more Caution and Apprehension in Men of great Authority of the Consequence of such Excesses. But when He discerned irregular Ways entered into to punish those Irregularities, and which might be attended with as ill Consequences,

Consequences, and that They intended to compound one great Crime out of several smaller Trespases, and, to use their own Style, *to complicate a Treason out of Misdemeanors*, and so to take away his Life for what He might be fined and imprisoned; He first dissuaded and then abhorred that Exorbitance, and more abhorred it, when He found it passionately and maliciously resolved by a direct Combination.

FROM this Time He and the Earl of *Essex* were perfectly divided and separated, and seldom afterwards concurred in the same Opinion: But as He worthily and bravely stood in the Gap in the Defence of that great Man's Life, so He did afterwards oppose all those Invasions, which were every Day made by the House of Commons upon the Rights of the Crown, or the Privileges of the Peers, which the Lords were willing to sacrifice to the useful Humour of the other. And by this Means, whilst most of the King's Servants lifted themselves with the Conspirators in promoting all Things which were ingrateful to him, this Lord, who had no Relation to his Service, was looked upon as a Courtier; and by the Strength of his Reason gave such a Check to their Proceedings, that He became little less odious to them than the Court itself; and so much the more odious, because as He was superiour to their Temptations, so his unquestionable Integrity was out of their Reach, and made him condemn their Power as much as their Malice.

HE had all the Detestation imaginable of the civil War, and discerned the dismal Effects it would produce, more than most other Men, which made him do all He could to prevent it. But when it could not be avoided, He made no Scruple how to dispose of himself, but frankly declared for the King, who had a just Sense of the Service He had done him, and made him then both of his Privy Council and Gentleman of his Bedchamber, without the least Application or Desire of his, and when most of those who were under Both those Relations had chosen, as the much stronger,

the

the Rebels Side: And his receiving those Obligations at that present was known to proceed more from his Duty than his Ambition. He had all the Fidelity that God requires, and all the Affection to the Person of the King that his Duty suggested to him was due, without any Reverence for or Compliance with his Infirmities or Weakness; which made him many Times uneasy to the King, especially in all Consultations towards Peace, in which He was always desirous that his Majesty should yield more than He was inclined to do.

(41) HE was in his Nature melancholick, and reserved in his Conversation, except towards those with whom He was very well acquainted; with whom He was not only chearful, but upon Occasion light and pleasant. He was naturally lazy, and indulged overmuch Ease to himself: Yet as no Man had a quicker Apprehension or solidier Judgment in Business of all Kinds, so, when it had a hopeful Prospect, no Man could keep his Mind longer bent, and take more Pains in it. In the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, which was a continued Fatigue of twenty Days, He never slept four Hours in a Night, who had never used to allow himself less than ten, and at the End of the Treaty was much more vigorous than in the Beginning; which made the Chancellor to tell the King when They returned to *Oxford*, "that if He would have the Earl of *Southampton* in good Health and good Humour, He must give him good Store of Business to do."

HIS Person was of a small Stature; his Courage, as all his other Faculties, very great; having no Sign of Fear or Sense of Danger, when He was in a Place where He ought to be found. When the King had withdrawn himself from *Oxford* in order to his Escape to the *Scotch* Army, and *Fairfax* had brought his Army before the Town; in some Debate at the Council-Board, there being some Mention of Prince *Rupert* with Reference to his Dignity in a large Degree above all the Nobility, the Earl of *Southampton*, who never used to speak indecently, used some Expressions, which,

being unfaithfully reported to the Prince, his Highness interpreted to be disrespectful towards him: Whereupon He sent the Lord *Gerard* to expostulate with him. To whom the Earl without any Apology related the Words He had used; which being reported by him again to the Prince, though they were not the same which He had been informed, yet He was not so well satisfied with them, but that He sent the same Lord to him again to tell him, "that his Highness expected other Satisfaction from him, and expected to meet him with his Sword in his Hand, and desired it might be as soon as He could, lest it might be prevented."

THE Earl appointed the next Morning, at a Place well known; and being asked "what Weapon He chose," He said, "that He had no Horse fit for such a Service, nor knew where suddenly to get one; and that He knew himself too weak to close with the Prince: And therefore He hoped his Highness would excuse him, if He made Choice of such Weapons as He could best use; and therefore He resolved to fight on Foot with a Case of Pistols only;" which the Prince willingly consented to. And without Doubt They had met the next Morning, the Earl having chosen Sir *George Villiers* for his Second; but that the Lord *Gerard's* coming to the Earl so often, with whom He had no Acquaintance, had been so much observed, that some of the Lords who had been present at the Debate at the Board, and heard some Replies which had been made, and thence concluded that ill Offices had been done, watched them Both so narrowly, and caused the Town-Gates to be shut, that They discovered enough, notwithstanding the Denial of Both Parties, to prevent their Meeting; and afterwards interposed till a Reconciliation was made: And the Prince ever afterwards had a good Respect for the Earl.

AFTER the Murder of the King, the Earl of *Southampton* remained in his own House, without the least

Application

Application to those Powers which had made themselves so terrible, and which seemed to resolve to root out the whole Party as well as the Royal Family; and would not receive a Civility from any of them: And when *Cromwell* was near his House in the Country, upon the Marriage of his Son in those Parts, and had a Purpose to have made a Visit to him; upon a private Notice thereof, He immediately removed to another House at a greater Distance. He sent frequently some trusty Person to the King with such Presents of Money, as He could receive out of the Fortune They had left to him, which was scarce enough to support him in that Retirement: And after the Battle of *Worcester*, when the Rebels had set a Price upon the King's Head, and denounced the most terrible Judgment upon any Person, and his Posterity, that should presume to give any Shelter or Assistance to *Charles Stuart* towards his Escape; He sent a faithful Servant to all those Persons, who in Respect of their Fidelity and Activity were most like to be trusted upon such an Occasion, that They should advertise the King, "that He would most willingly receive him into his House, and provide a Ship for his Escape." And his Majesty received this Advertisement from him the Day before He was ready to embark in a small Vessel prepared for him in *Sussex*; which his Majesty always remembered as a worthy Testimony of his Affection and Courage in so general a Consternation. And the Earl was used to say, "that after that miraculous Escape, how dismal soever the Prospect was, He had still Confidence of his Majesty's Restoration."

His own natural Disposition inclined to melancholick; and his Retirement from all Conversation, in which He might have given some Vent to his own Thoughts, with the Discontinuance of all those bodily Exercises and Recreations to which He had been accustomed, brought many Diseases upon him, which made his Life less pleasant to him; so that from the Time of the King's Return, between the Gout and the

Stone, He underwent great Affliction. Yet upon the happy Return of his Majesty He seemed to recover great Vigour of Mind, and undertook the Charge of High Treasurer with much Alacrity and Industry, as long as He had any Hope to get a Revenue settled proportionable to the Expence of the Crown (towards which his Interest and Authority and Counsel contributed very much), or to reduce the Expence of the Court within the Limits of the Revenue. But when He discerned that the last did and would still make the former impossible (upon which He made as frequent and lively Representations as He thought himself obliged to do), and when He saw Irregularities and Excesses to abound, and to overflow all the Banks which should restrain them; He grew more dispirited, and weary of that Province, which exposed him to the Reproaches which others ought to undergo, and which supplied him not with Authority to prevent them. And He had then withdrawn from the Burden, which He infinitely desired to be eased of, but out of Conscience of his Duty to the King, who He knew would suffer in it; and that the People who knew his Affections very well, and already opened their Mouths wide against the License of the Court, would believe it worse and incurable if He quitted the Station He was in. This, and this only, prevailed with him still to undergo that Burden, even when He knew that They who enjoyed the Benefit of it were as weary that He should be disquieted with it.

HE was a Man of great and exemplary Virtue and Piety, and very regular in his Devotions; yet was not generally believed by the Bishops to have an Affection keen enough for the Government of the Church, because He was willing and desirous, that Somewhat more might have been done to gratify the *Presbyterians* than They thought just. But the Truth is; He had a perfect Detestation of all the Presbyterian Principles, nor had ever had any Conversation with their Persons, having during all those wicked Times strictly observed the

the Devotions prescribed by the Church of *England*; in the Performance whereof He had always an orthodox Chaplain, one of those deprived of their Estates by that Government, which disposed of the Church as well as of the State. But it is very true, that upon the Observation of the great Power and Authority which the *Presbyterians* usurped and were possessed of, even when *Cromwell* did all He could to divest them of it, and applied all his Interest to oppress or suppress them, insomuch as They did often give a Check to and divert many of his Designs; He did believe that their Numbers and their Credit had been much greater than in Truth they were. And then some Persons, who had Credit with him by being thought to have an equal Aversion from them, persuaded him to believe, that They would be satisfied with very easy Concessions, which would bring no Prejudice or Inconvenience to the Church. And this Imagination prevailed with him, and more with others who loved them not, to wish that there might be some Indulgence towards them. But that which had the strongest Influence upon him, and which made him less apprehensive of the Venom of any other Sect, was the extreme Jealousy He had of the Power and Malignity of the *Roman Catholics*; whose Behaviour from the Time of the Suppression of the Regal Power, and more scandalously at and from the Time of the Murder of the King, had very much irreconciled him towards them: And He did believe, that the King and the Duke of *York* had a better Opinion of their Fidelity, and less Jealousy of their Affections, than They deserved; and so thought there could not be too great an Union of all other Interests to control the Exorbitance of that. And upon this Argument, with his private Friends, He was more passionate than in any other.

He had a marvellous Zeal and Affection for the Royal Family; insomuch as the two Sons of the Duke of *York* falling Both into Distempers (of which They Both shortly after died) very few Days before his

Death, He was so marvellously affected with it, that many believed the Trouble of it, or a Presage what might befall the Kingdom by it, hastened his Death some Hours: And in the Agony of Death, the very Morning He died, He sent to know how They did; and seemed to receive some Relief, when the Messenger returned with the News, that They were both alive and in some Degree mended.

The King resolves to put the Treasury into Commission

THE next Day after his Death, which was about the End of *May*, the King called the Chancellor into his Closet; and, the Duke of *York* being only present, told him, "that He could think of no Man fit to be Treasurer, and therefore resolved, as He had long done, to put that Office into Commission;" and then asked, "who should be Commissioners:" To which He answered, "the Business would be much better done by a single Officer, if He could think of a fit one; for Commissioners never had, never would do, that Business well." The Duke of *York* said, "that He believed it would be best done by Commission; it had been so managed during all the ill Times" (for from the Beginning of the Troubles there had been no Treasurer): "And He had observed (and the King found the Benefit of it), that though Sir *William Compton* was an extraordinary Person, and better qualified than most Men for that Charge, yet since his Decease, that his Majesty had put the Office of the Ordnance under the Government of Commissioners, it was in much better Order, and the King was better served there than He had ever been; and He believed He would be so likewise in the Office of Treasury, if fit Persons were chosen for it, who might have Nothing else to do." And the King seemed to be of the same Mind.

The Chancellor advises him against it.

THE Chancellor replied, "that He was very sorry, that They were Both so much delighted with the Function of Commissioners, which were more suitable to the modelling a Commonwealth, than for the Support of Monarchy: That during the late Troubles,

“ Troubles, whilst the Parliament exercised the Go-
 “ vernment, They reduced it as fast as They could to
 “ the Form of a Commonwealth; and then no Quef-
 “ tion the putting the Treasury into the Hands of
 “ Commissioners was much more suitable to the rest
 “ of the Model, than it could be under a single Person.
 “ Besides, having no Revenue of their own, but being
 “ to raise one according to their Inventions and pro-
 “ portionable to their own Occasions, it could never
 “ be well collected or ordered by old Officers, who
 “ were obliged to Forms which would not be agree-
 “ able to their necessary Transactions: So that new
 “ Ministers were to be made for new Employments,
 “ who might be obliged punctually to observe their
 “ new Orders, without any Superiority over each
 “ other, but a joint Obedience to the supreme Autho-
 “ rity. But when *Cromwell* assumed the entire Go-
 “ vernment into his own Hands, He cancelled all those
 “ Republican Rules and Forms, and appointed infe-
 “ rior Persons to several Functions, and reserved the
 “ whole Disposition to himself, and was his own High
 “ Treasurer: And it was well known that He re-
 “ solved, as soon as He should be able to reduce
 “ Things to the Forms He intended, to cancel all
 “ those Commissions, and invest single Persons in the
 “ Government of those Provinces.”

He said, “ He would not take upon him to say any
 “ Thing of the Office of the Ordnance, where the
 “ Commissioners were his Friends; only He might
 “ say, that that Kind of Administration had not been
 “ yet long enough known to have a good Judgment
 “ made of it; However, that it was of so different a
 “ Nature from the Office of the Treasury, that no
 “ Observation of the one could be applied to the other.
 “ The Ordnance was conversant only with Smiths and
 “ Carpenters, and other Artificers and Handicrafts-
 “ men, with whom all their Transactions were:
 “ Whereas the Treasury had much to do with the No-
 “ bility and chief Gentry of the Kingdom; must have

“often Recourse to the King himself for his particular
 “Directions, to the Privy Council for their Assistance
 “and Advice, to the Judges for their Resolutions in
 “Matters of Difficulty; and if the Ministers of it
 “were not of that Quality and Degree, that They
 “might have free Recourse to all those, and find Re-
 “spect from them, his Majesty’s Service would noto-
 “riously suffer. And that the White Staff itself, in
 “the Hands of a Person esteemed, did more to the
 “bringing in several Branches of the Revenue, by the
 “Obedience and Reverence all Officers paid to it,
 “than any Orders from Commissioners could do:
 “And that how mean an Opinion soever some Men
 “had of the Faculties of the late excellent Officer for
 “that Administration, his Majesty would find by Ex-
 “perience, that the vast Sums of Money, which He
 “had borrowed in these late Years, had been in a great
 “Measure procured upon the general Confidence all
 “Men had in the Honour and Justice of the Trea-
 “surer; and that the Credit of Commissioners would
 “never be able to supply such Necessities.”

THE King said, “He was not at all of his Opinion,
 “and doubted not his Business would be much better
 “done by Commissioners; and therefore He should
 “speak to the Nomination of those, since He was sure
 “He could propose no single Person fit for it.” To
 which the Chancellor answered, “that He thought it
 “much harder to find a worthy Man, who would be
 “persuaded to accept it in the Disorder in which his
 “Affairs were, than a Man who might be very fit for
 “it: And that if that Subject who had the greatest
 “Fortune in *England* and the most general Reputa-
 “tion would receive it, his Majesty would be no
 “Loser in conferring it on such a one; and till such
 “a one might be found, He might put it into Com-
 “mission. But,” He said, “He perceived well, that
 “He would not approve the old Course in the Choice
 “of Commissioners; who had always been the Keeper
 “of the Great Seal, and the two Secretaries of State,
 “and

“ and two other of the principal Persons of the Council, besides the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who used to be the sole Person of the *Quorum*.”

NEITHER the King nor Duke seemed to like any of those; and the Chancellor plainly discerned from the Beginning that They were resolved upon the Persons, though his Opinion was asked: And the King said, “ He would choose such Persons, whether Privy Counsellors or not, who might have Nothing else to do, and were rough and illnatured Men, not to be moved with Civilities or Importunities in the Payment of Money; but would apply it all to his present Necessities, till some new Supplies might be gotten for the Payment of those Debts, which were first necessary to be paid. That He, the Chancellor, had so much Business upon his Hands, that He could not attend this other; and the Secretaries had enough to do: So He would have none of those.” And then He named Sir *Thomas Clifford*, who was newly of the Council and Controller of the House, and Sir *William Coventry*; and said, “ He did not think there should be many:” And the Duke then named Sir *John Duneombe*, as a Man of whom He had heard well, and every Body knew He was intimate with Sir *William Coventry*. The King said, “ He thought They three would be enough, and that a greater Number would but make the Dispatch of all Business the more slow.”

THE Chancellor said, “ He doubted those Persons would not have Credit and Authority enough to go through the necessary Affairs of that Province; that for his own Part, He was not desirous to meddle in it; He had indeed too much Business to do: That He had no Objection to the three Persons named, but that He thought them not known and esteemed enough for that Employment; and that it would be very incongruous to bring Sir *John Duneombe*, who was a private Country Gentleman, and utterly unacquainted with Business of that Nature,

“ to

“ to sit in equal Authority with Privy Counsellors, and
 “ in Affairs which would be often debated at the
 “ Council-Table, where He could not be present.”
 And He put his Majesty in Mind, “ that He must
 “ put the Lord *Ashley* out of his Office of Chancellor
 “ of the Exchequer, if He did not make him Com-
 “ missioner of the Treasury, and of the *Quorum*.”
 And concluded, “ that if He did not name the Gene-
 “ ral, and some other Person that might give some
 “ Lustre to the others, the Work would not be done
 “ as it ought to be; for many Persons would be some-
 “ times obliged to attend upon the Treasury, who
 “ would not think those Gentlemen enough superiour
 “ to them, how qualified soever.”

Commissioners
 of the Treasury
 appointed.

THE King said, “ He could easily provide against
 “ the Exception to Sir *John Duncombe*, by making him
 “ a Privy Counsellor; and He did not care if He
 “ added the General to them.” The Lord *Ashley* gave
 him some Trouble, and He said enough to make it
 manifest that He thought him not fit to be amongst
 them: Yet He knew not how to put him out of his
 Place; but gave Direction for preparing the Com-
 mission for the Treasury to the Persons named before,
 and made the Lord *Ashley* only one of the Commis-
 sioners, and a major Part to make a *Quorum*; which
 would quickly bring the Government of the whole
 Business into the Hands of those three who were de-
 signed for it. And *Ashley* rather chose to be degraded,
 than to dispute it.

Negotiations
 at Breda.

THE King expected, that as soon as the Ambassa-
 dours should meet at the *Hague*, a Cessation would be
 the first Thing that would be agreed upon: And the
French Ambassadors did in the first Place propose it,
 and in such a Manner, as made it evident that They
 depended upon it as a Thing resolved upon; and their
 Master had with their Consent dismissed his own Fleet,
 and theirs was yet in their Ports. Nor did the *Dutch*
 seem to refuse it; but answered, “ that the adjusting all
 “ Things in Order to a Cessation would require as much
 “ Time

“ Time as would serve to finish the Treaty, consider-
 “ ing all material Points were upon the Matter already The Dutch
 defer agreeing
 to a Cessation.
 “ stated and agreed upon, the King having already
 “ chosen the Alternative :” And notwithstanding all
 the Earnestness used by the *French* Ambassadors, no
 other Answer could be obtained as to a Cessation;
 which, together with the supercilious Behaviour of the
 Commissioners from *Holland*, made it apparent, that
 They had no other Mind at that Time to Peace, than
 as They were compelled to it by *France*, that was im-
 patient to have it concluded. They would not hear
 any Mention for the Redelivery of *Poloroone*, “ which,”
 They said, “ the King of *France* had promised should
 “ not be demanded;” and as little for any Recom-
 pense in Money; nor would suffer the Merchant-
 Deputies from the *English* Company to go to *Amster-*
dam, to confer with the *East-India* Company there for
 any Composition. It quickly appeared, that They had
 Revenge in their Hearts for their last Year’s Affront
 and Damage at the *Flie*; and *De Wit* had often said,
 “ that before any Peace They would leave some such
 “ Mark of their having been upon the *English* Coast,
 “ as the *English* had left of their having been upon that
 “ of *Holland*.”

AFTER the Treaty was entered into, about the Be-
 ginning of *June* *De Ruyter* came with the Fleet out of The Attempts
 of the Dutch
 upon Sheer-
 ness and
 Chatham.
 the *Wierings*, and joining with the rest from the *Texel*
 sailed for the Coast of *England*: And having a fair
 Wind stood for the River of *Thames*; which put the
 County of *Kent* into such an Alarm, that all near the
 Sea left their Houses and fled into the Country.
 The Earl of *Winchelsea*, who was Lord Lieutenant of
 that County, was at that Time Ambassador at *Con-*
stantinople, and the Deputy-Lieutenants had all equal
 Authority: So that no Man had Power to command
 in that large County in so general a Distraction.
 Hereupon the King sent down Lieutenant General
Middleton with Commission to draw all the Trainbands
 together, and to command all the Forces that could
 be

be raised: And He immediately went thither, and was very well obeyed, and quickly drew all the Trainbands of Horse and Foot to *Rocheſter*; and other Troops reſorted to him from the neighbour Counties, all the People expreſſing a great Alacrity in being commanded by him.

THERE had been enough Diſcourſe all that Year of erecting a Fort at *Sheerneſs* for the Defence of the River: And the King had made two Journeys thither in the Winter, and had given ſuch Orders to the Commiſſioners of the Ordnance for the overſeeing and finiſhing the Fortifications, that every Body believed that Work done; it having been the principal Defence and Proviſion directed and depended upon (as hath been ſaid before), when the Reſolution had been taken for the ſtanding only upon the Defence for this Summer. But whatever had been thought or directed, very little had been done. There were a Company or two of very good Soldiers there under excellent Officers; but the Fortifications were ſo weak and unfiniſhed, and all other Proviſions ſo entirely wanting, that the *Dutch* Fleet no ſooner approached within a Diſtance, but with their Cannon They beat all the Works flat, and drove all the Men from the Ground: Which as ſoon as They had done, with their Boats They landed Men, and ſeemed reſolved to fortify and keep it. (420)

THIS put the Country into a Flame, and the News of it exceedingly diſturbed the King. He knew the Conſequence of the Place, and how eaſily it might have been ſecured, and was the more troubled, that it had been neglected: And with what Loſs ſoever, it muſt be preſently recovered out of thoſe Hands. The General was immediately ordered to march to *Chatham*, for the Security of the Navy, with ſuch Troops of Horſe and Foot as could be preſently drawn together out of the Guards, and from the neighbour Counties; and the City appeared very forward to ſend ſuch Regiments of their Trainbands as ſhould be required. When the General came to *Chatham*, He found *Mid-*
dleton

leton in so good a Posture, and so good a Body of Men, that He had no Apprehension of any Attempt the *Dutch* could make at Land; and He writ very chearful and confident Letters to the King and the Duke, "that if the Enemy should make any Attempt, "which He believed They durst not do, They would "repent it. That He had put a Chain over the "River, which would hinder them from coming up: "And if They should adventure to land any where, "He would quickly beat them to their Ships;" as no Doubt He had been very well able to have done.

THERE was indeed no Danger of their landing, and They were too wise to think of it: Their Business was in an Element They had more Confidence in and more Power upon. They had good Intelligence how loosely all Things were left in the River: And therefore as soon as the Tide came to help them, They stood full up the River, without any Consideration of the Chain, which their Ships immediately brake in Pieces, and passed without the least Pause; there being either no such Device to be made that can obstruct such an Enterprize, or that which was made was so weak, that it was of no Signification, but to raise an unseasonable Confidence in unskilful Men, that being disappointed must increase the Confusion, as it did. For all Men were so confounded to see the *Dutch* Fleet advance over the Chain, which They looked upon as a Wall of Brass, that They knew not what They were to do.

THE General was of a Constitution and Temper so void of Fear, that there could appear no Signs of Distraction in him: Yet it was plain enough that He knew not what Orders to give. There were two or three Ships of the Royal Navy negligently, if not treacherously, left in the River, which might have been very easily drawn into Safety, and could be of no imaginable Use in the Place where they then were: Into one of those the General put himself, and invited the

the young Gentlemen who were Volunteers to accompany him ; which They readily did in great Numbers, only with Pikes in their Hands. But some of his Friends whispered to him, “ how unadvised that Resolution was, and how desperate, without Possibility of Success, the whole Fleet of the Enemy approaching as fast as the Tide would enable them.” And so He was prevailed with to put himself again on Shore : Which except He had done, both himself and two or three hundred Gentlemen of the Nobility and prime Gentry of the Kingdom had inevitably perished ; for all those Ships, and some Merchant-Men laden and ready to put to Sea, were presently in a Flame ; the *Dutch*, knowing that They could not carry them off, giving Order to burn them, the General standing upon the Shore, and not knowing what Remedy to apply to all this Mischief. The People of *Chatham*, which is naturally an Army of Seamen and Officers of the Navy, who might and ought to have secured all those Ships, which They had Time enough to have done, were in Distraction ; their chief Officers having applied all those Boats and lighter Vessels which should⁽⁴⁾ have towed up the Ships, to carry away their own Goods and Householdstuff, and given what They left behind for lost. And without Doubt, if the *Dutch* had prosecuted the present Advantage They had, with that Circumspection and Courage that was necessary, They might have fired the Royal Navy at *Chatham*, and taken or destroyed all the Ships which lay higher in the River, and so fully revenged themselves for what They had suffered at the *Flie* : But They thought They had done enough, and so made Use of the Ebb to carry them back again.

*Great Con-
fession in the
City and Court.*

BUT the Noise of this, and the Flame of the Ships which were burned, made it easily believed in the City of *London*, that the Enemy had done all that They conceived They might have done : They thought that They were landed in many Places, and that their Fleet was come up as far as *Greenwich*. Nor was the Con-

fusion

fusion there greater than it was in the Court itself: Where They who had most advanced the War, and reproached all them who had been or were thought to be against it, “as Men who had no publick Spirits, and “were not solicitous for the Honour and Glory of the “Nation;” and who had never spoken of the *Dutch* but with Scorn and Contempt, as a Nation rather worthy to be cudgelled than fought with; were now the most dejected Men that can be imagined, railed very bitterly at those who had advised the King to enter into that War, “which had already consumed “so many gallant Men, and would probably ruin the “Kingdom,” and wished “that a Peace, as the only “Hope, were made upon any Terms.” In a Word; the Distraction and Consternation was so great in Court and City, as if the *Dutch* had not been only Masters of the River, but had really landed an Army of one hundred thousand Men.

THEY who remember that Conjunction, and were then present in the Galleries and privy Lodgings at *Whitehall*, whither all the World flocked with equal Liberty, can easily call to Mind many Instances of such wild Despair and even ridiculous Apprehensions, that I am willing to forget, and would not that the least Mention of them should remain: And if the King’s and Duke’s personal Composure had not restrained Men from expressing their Fears, there wanted not some who would have advised them to have left the City. And there was a Lord, who would be thought one of the greatest Soldiers in *Europe*, to whom the Custody of the *Tower* was committed, who lodging there only one Night, declared “that it was not tenable,” and desired not to be charged with it: And thereupon many, who had carried their Money and Goods thither, removed them from thence that they might be farther from the River. Nor did this unreasonable Distemper pass away, when it was known that the *Dutch* Fleet had not only left the River, but had taken away all their Men from *Sheerness*, which
was

was a Manifestation very sufficient that They had' no Design upon the Land : But there remained still such a Chagrin in the Minds of many, as if They would return again ; in which They were confirmed, when They heard that They were still upon the Coasts, and gave the same Alarm now to *Essex* and *Suffolk*, as They had done to *Kent*, not without making a Shew as if They meant to attempt *Harwich* and *Landguard Point* ; which drew all the Trainbands of those Counties to the Seaside, and the Duke of *York* went thither to conduct them, if there should be Occasion.

The King advised to continue the Parliament during the Prorogation.

IN this Perplexity the King was not at Ease, and the less that every Man took upon him to discourse to him of the Distemper of the People generally over the Kingdom, and to give him Counsel what was to be done : And some Men had advised him to call the Parliament, which at the last Session had been prorogued to the twentieth of *October* ; and it was now the Middle of *June*. And surely most discerning Men thought such a Conjuncture so unseasonable for the Council of a Parliament, that if it had been then sitting, the most wholesome Advice that could be given would be to separate them, till that Occasion should be over, which could be best provided for by a more contracted Council : However not knowing else what to do disposed the King to incline to that Remedy. And it being a current Opinion, or rather an unquestioned Certainty, that upon a Prorogation a Parliament cannot be convened before the Day, though upon an Adjournment it may ; They had brought Mr. *Prynne* privately to the King to satisfy him, “ that upon an extraordinary Occasion He might do it : ” And his Judgment, which in all other Cases He did enough undervalue, very much confirmed him in what He had a Mind to.

IN the Beginning of the Summer, when He had resolved to have no Fleet at Sea, there were many Reasons which induced him to increase his Forces at Land. And that He might do it without Jealousy of
the

the People, He gave Commission to three or four Persons of the Nobility, of great Fortunes and good Names, to raise Regiments of Foot, and to others for Troops of Horse; which was done at their own Charge, and with wonderful Expedition: And upon their first Musters They all received one Month's Pay. Of these Levies some were sent to repossess *Sheernes*, and extraordinary Care was taken for the better Advancement of those Fortifications; and others were disposed to other Posts upon the Coast: But it was in View, that upon the Expiration of that Month, there must be new Pay provided for those Regiments and Troops. Then the Trainbands, which had been drawn together, had continued for one Month, which was as long as the Law required: And now they required, or were said to require, to be relieved or dismissed, or that They might receive Pay. There were Discontents and Emulations upon Command; and They who had usually professed, "that They would willingly serve the King in the Offices of Corporals or Serjeants, whatever Command They formerly had," now disputed all the Punctilios, and would not receive Orders from any who had been formerly in inferiour Offices. And all these Waywardnesses were brought to the King, as Matters of the highest Consequence, who found Difficulty enough in determining Points of more Importance.

THEY who for their own private Designs desired that the Parliament might meet, and cared not in what Humour They met, urged the King very importunately, "that He would issue out a Proclamation to summon them, as the only Expedient to give himself Ease, and to provide for all that was to be done:" And his Majesty was most inclined to it, and in Truth resolved it; though knowing that it was contrary to the Sense of many, He resolved to debate it at the Council. And there He told them, "that They all saw the Streights that He was in, the Insolence of the Enemy, and the general Distemper of the

The Privy Council consulted about the reassembling the Parliament.

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“ Nation, which made it manifest that it was necessary
 “ for him to have an Army, that might be ready
 “ against any Thing that might fall out. That He had
 “ no Money, nor knew where to get any ; nor could
 “ imagine any other Way to provide against the Mis-
 “ chiefs which were in View, than by calling the Par-
 “ liament to come together, of which or any other
 “ Expedient He was willing to receive their Advice ;”
 expressing so much of his own Sense, that it was plain
 enough that He thought that Remedy the best that
 could be applied. Three or four of those who sat at
 the lower End of the Board, and who were well enough
 known to have given the Counsel, and to be industri-
 ous that it might be followed, enlarged themselves in
 the Debate, “ that the Soldiers could not be kept toge- (423)
 “ ther without Money ; and They could not advise any
 “ other Way to get Money but by the convening the
 “ Parliament, which They were confident might justly
 “ and regularly be done :” And They desired, “ that
 “ They who were of another Opinion would propose
 “ some other Way how the King might get Money.”

THE Chancellor discerned that the Matter was al-
 ready concluded, what Advice soever should be given ;
 and that the three new Commissioners of the Treasury,
 since They could find no Way to procure Money, had
 been very importunate with the King to try that Ex-
 pedient, and the more, because They well knew that
 He was against it, He having not been at all reserved
 upon several Occasions in private Discourses, when
 They were present, to give many Reasons against it :
 And He knew as well, that They would gladly make
 any Use of any Expressions which might fall from him,
 when the Remembrance might be applied to his Pre-
 judice. Yet his natural Unwariness in such Cases with
 Reference to himself, when He thought his Majesty’s
 Service concerned, to which He did really believe the
 present Advice would produce much Prejudice, pre-
 vailed with him to dissuade it.

He said, " He knew well upon what Disadvantage ^{*The Chancellor opposes it*} it was to
 " He spake, and how unpopular a Thing it was to
 " speak against the convening the Parliament in those
 " Streights, which seemed to be capable of no other
 " Remedy: Yet since He thought the Remedy nei-
 " ther proper to the Disease, nor that it could be ap-
 " plied in Time, He could not concur with those who
 " advised it. That most Men who had any Knowledge
 " in the Law did confess, that when the Parliament
 " stood prorogued to a certain Day, the convening
 " them upon a sooner Day was very doubtful; and to
 " him, upon all the Disquisition He could make, it
 " was very clear that it could not be done: And there-
 " fore He desired the Judges might be consulted in
 " that Point, before any Resolution should be taken.
 " That the Temper of Both Houses was well known;
 " and that it could not but be presumed, that when
 " They came together, the first Debate They would
 " fall upon would be of the Manner of their coming
 " together, and whether They were in a Capacity to
 " act: And He doubted there would be very few who
 " would be forward to pass an Act in a Season, when
 " the Validity of it might be questioned by those who
 " had no Mind to pay any Obedience to it. And then
 " if their Meeting were only to confer together upon
 " all Occurrences, and They might presume of Li-
 " berty to say what They had a Mind to say, with-
 " out Power to conclude any Thing; it was well
 " worth the considering, whether, in so general a Dis-
 " temper, such an Assembly might not interrupt all
 " other Consultations and Expedients, and yet pro-
 " pose none, and so increase the Confusion. If the
 " Necessities were so urgent, that it was absolutely ne-
 " cessary that a Parliament should be convened, and
 " that which stood prorogued could not lawfully re-
 " assemble till the twentieth of *October*, as He was
 " confident it could not; there was no Question to
 " be made, but that the King might lawfully by his
 " Proclamation presently dissolve the prorogued Par-
 " liament

“liament, and send out his Writs to have a new Parliament, which might regularly meet a Month before the prorogued Parliament could come together.” And many of the Council were of Opinion, that it would most conduce to his Majesty’s Service to dissolve the one, and to call another Parliament.

THIS was an Advice They believed no Man had the Courage to make, and were sorry to find so many of the Opinion, which They had rather should have appeared to be single. Many very warmly opposed this Expedient, magnified the Affections and Inclinations of Both Houses: “And though there appeared some ill Humour in them at their last being together, and Aversion to give any Money for the present; yet in the Main their Affections were very right for Church and State. And that the King was never to hope to see a Parliament better constituted for his Service, or so many of the Members at his Disposal: But that He must expect that the *Presbyterians* would be chosen in all Places, and that They who were most eminent now for opposing all that He desired would be chosen, and all They who were most zealous for his Service would be carefully excluded;” which was a Fancy that sunk very deep in the Minds of the Bishops, though their best Friends thought them like to find more Friends and a stronger Support in any, than They would have in that Parliament. But the King quickly declared his Confidence in the Parliament that was prorogued, and his Resolution not to dissolve it; which put an End to that Debate. And the other was again resumed, “what the King was to do towards the raising Money; or how He should be able to maintain his Army, if He should defer calling the Parliament till the Day upon which They were to assemble by the Prorogation:” And all Men were to restrain their Discourse to that Point.

THE old Argument, “that there could be no other Way found out,” was renewed, and urged with more

more Earnestness and Confidence; and that They who were against it might be obliged to offer their Advice what other Course should be taken: And this was often demanded, in a Manner not usual in that Place, as a Reproach to the Persons. His Majesty himself with some Quickness was pleased to ask the Chancellor, "what He did advise." To which He replied, "that if in Truth what was proposed was in
 "the Nature of it not practicable, or being practised
 "could not attain the Effect proposed, it ought to be
 "laid aside, that Men might unbiassed apply their
 "Thoughts to find out some other Expedient. That He
 "thought it very clear that the Parliament could not
 "assemble, though the Proclamation should issue out
 "that very Hour, within less than twenty Days; and
 "that if They were met, and believed themselves law-
 "fully qualified to grant a Supply of Moneys, all Men
 "knew the Formality of that Transaction would re-
 "quire so much Time, that Money could not be
 "raised Time enough to raise an Army, or to main-
 "tain that Part of it that was raised, to prevent the
 "landing of an Enemy that was already upon the
 "Coast, and (as many thought or seemed to think)
 "ready every Day to make their Descent: And yet
 "the sending out a Proclamation for reassembling the
 "Parliament would inevitably put an End to all other
 "Counsels. That for his Part He did believe, that
 "the *Dutch* had already satisfied themselves in the
 "Affront They had given, and could not be in any
 "Condition to pursue it, or have Men enough on
 "Board to make a Descent, without the King's having
 "Notice of it; and that the *Dutch*, without a Con-
 "junction with the *French*, had not Strength for such
 "an Undertaking: And that the *French* had no such
 "Purpose his Majesty had all the Assurance possible,
 "and that their Fleet was gone far from the Coast of
 "*England*. And his Majesty had Reason to believe,
 "that the present Treaty would put an End to this

“ War in a short Time, though the Power and Artifice of *De Wit* had prevented a Cessation.

“ HOWEVER, for the present Support of those Troops which were necessary to guard the Coasts, since Money could not be found for their present constant Pay, without which free Quarter could not be avoided; the only Way that appeared to him to be practicable, and to avoid the last Evil, would be, to write Letters to the Lieutenants and Deputy-⁽⁴²⁵⁾ Lieutenants of those Counties where the Troops were obliged to remain, *that They would cause Provisions of all Kinds to be brought into those Quarters*, that so the Soldiers might not be compelled to straggle abroad to provide their own Victual, which would end in the worst Kind of free Quarter: And that the like Letters might be written to the neighbour Counties, wherein no Soldiers were quartered, to raise Money by Way of Contribution or Loan, which should be abated out of the next Impositions, that so the Troops might be enabled to stay and continue in their Posts where They were, for Defence of the Kingdom; in which those other Counties had their Share in the Benefit, and without which They must themselves be exposed to the Disorder of the Soldiers, and possibly to the Invasion of the Enemy.”

It is very probable, that in the Earnestness of this Debate, and the frequent Interruptions which were given, He might use that Expression (which was afterwards objected against him) “ of raising Contribution as had been in the late civil War.” Whatever it was He said, it was evident at the Time that some Men were well pleased with it, as Somewhat They meant to make Use of hereafter, in which his Innocence made him little concerned.

The Parliament summoned to meet.

THE Conclusion was, though many of the Lords spake against it, and much the major Part thought it not counsellable; that a Proclamation should forthwith issue out, to require all the Members of Parliament to meet

meet upon a Day appointed in the Beginning of *August*, to consult upon the great Affairs of the Kingdom: And this Proclamation was presently issued accordingly.

ALL this Time the Treaty proceeded at *Breda*, as The Treaty advanced. fast as the insolent Humour of the *Dutch* would suffer it. The *French* King declared himself much offended with their Proceedings at Sea: And his Ambassadors spake so loud, that the *States* gave Order to their Deputies to bring the Treaty to a Conclusion; and sent such Orders to *De Ruyter*, that there was no more Hostility of any Moment; only the Fleet remained at Sea, that it might appear They were Masters of it. It cannot be denied that the *French* Ambassadors, except in what referred to *Poleroone*, behaved themselves as candidly as could be wished: And it is probable, that the same Reason which moved the *French* to use all possible Diligence to bring the Treaty to an End, prevailed likewise with the *Dutch* to use all the Delays They could, that it might be prolonged.

THOUGH there was no War declared, it had been long notorious that *Flanders* would be invaded: And it was as notorious, that there was no Provision made there towards a Resistance or Defence; the Marquis of *Castelle Roderigo*, who came Governour thither with a great Reputation, not making good the Expectation in the Sagacity He was famed for, nor offering at any Levies of Men, or mending Fortifications, until the *French* Army was upon the Borders. Then He sent into *England* to press the King to assist him with an Army of Horse and Foot; and it easily appeared the Nation would gladly have engaged in that War, not being willing that *Flanders* should be in the Possession of *France*: But the King was engaged not to give any Assistance to the Enemies of *France* until the Treaty should be ended, which yet it was not. However He suffered the Earl of *Castle-Haven*, under Pretence of recruiting a Regiment in *Flanders* which He had for-

merly, to raise a Body of one thousand Foot, which He quickly transported to *Ostend*.

THE King of *France* was impatient to march, and yet desired the Treaty might be first concluded, that both himself and the King of *England* might be at Liberty to enter into such an Alliance as They should think proper for their Interest: And the *Dutch*, who had no Mind that the Expedition should be prosecuted, and as much feared the Consequence of such an Alliance, though They were not wise enough to consider the right Means to prevent it, desired that the Treaty might not be concluded till the Winter drew nearer. But the *French* quickly put an End to that their Hope by marching into the Heart of *Flanders*, and so giving them new Matter for their present Consultations; not without Intimation, “that if They “would not finish the Treaty, that King would conclude for what concerned himself:” And this put an End to it. Yet there were some Alterations of small Importance in some Articles of the former Treaty, besides that of *Poleroone*, which the Ambassadors would not consent to without farther Knowledge of the King’s Pleasure: And so one of them (Mr. *Henry Coventry*) came to attend his Majesty to give him an Account of all Particulars, and receive his own final Determination.

The French
invade Flan-
ders.

THE King in the first Place sent for the *East-India* Company, and let them know, “that the *Dutch* “would not consent to the former Article for the Redelivery of *Poleroone*, nor give any Recompense for “it; and that He was resolved not to depart from “them, and so release their Right without their Consent: And therefore that They should consider “what would be for their Good.” They answered, “that They thought a Peace to be so necessary for the “Kingdom, that They would not that any Particular “Interest of theirs should give any Interruption to “it:” And They acknowledged, “that if the War “continued, They should in many Respects be greater
“Losers

The East-India
Company
give up their
Claim to Pole-
roone.

“ Losers, than the Redelivery of *Polerroone* would repair; and that They would gladly sacrifice that Pretence to the publick Peace.”

UPON which Answer the Ambassadour made his Report of all the Particulars which were consented to on Both Sides in the Treaty, and what remained yet in Suspense; and made Answer to all Questions which any of the Council thought fit to ask. And the King requiring him to deliver his own Opinion upon his Observation, and “ whether He believed, that if his Majesty should positively insist upon what They had hitherto refused to consent to, the *Dutch* would choose to continue the War; and whether the *French* would join with them in it:” He answered, “ that it was very evident that the *Dutch* did not at present desire the Peace, otherwise than to comply with *France* and for Fear of it; and that *France* was obliged not to abandon them in the Point of *Polerroone*, which the other would never part with, nor give any Recompense for, though the *French* Ambassadors had used all the Arguments to persuade them to it. But if that were agreed, He was confident They would be compelled to consent to whatsoever was else of Moment. And that the *French* had used some threatening Expressions, upon some insolent Propositions made by the *Dane*, which They thought proceeded from the Instigation of *Holland*. And that at his coming away, the *French* Ambassadors had used great Freedom with him, and advised in what Particulars which were yet unagreed They wished his Majesty would not consent, and in which They could not serve him, but believed a Time would come, in which He would be repaired for those Condescensions: In other Particulars He should positively insist, at least with some little Variation of Expression; in which He expressed both his own and the Opinion of the other Ambassadour.”

AND the Whole being in this Manner clearly stated, the King required all the Lords severally to deliver their

*The Privy
Council ad-
vises the King
to conclude the
Treaty.*

*The Peace
made.*

*The Parlia-
ment meets,
and is imme-
diately pro-
rogued.*

their Judgment what He was to do; and every Man did deliver his Opinion in more or fewer Words. And it may be truly said, that, though one or two adorned their Passion with some Expressions of Indignation against the *Dutch* for their Presumption, and as if They did believe that the Parliament would concur with the King in all Things which might vindicate his Honour from their insolent Demands, the Advice was upon the Matter unanimous, “that the Ambassadors should immediately return, and conclude the Peace upon those Conditions which were stated at the Board.” And He did presently return: And all Matters were, within few Days after his Arrival, adjusted, and put into proper ministerial Hands for Engrossment, and all Forms and Circumstances agreed upon for the Proclamation of the Peace, and the Day appointed for the proclaiming thereof; and such Forms of Passes as should be given on all Sides to Merchants Ships (which would be impatient for Trade before the Days could be expired), in which all Ships of War should be obliged to take Notice that the Peace was proclaimed.

ALL this was done before the Day of the Parliament’s convening upon the King’s Proclamation: So that there being now no Use of an Army, and Reason enough to disband those Regiments which had been raised towards it, his Majesty thought it not reasonable that They should enter upon the Debate of any Business, but be continued under the former Prorogation to the Day appointed; and in this there appeared not one Person of a different Opinion. And so, upon the Day, the King went to the House, and told them, “that since the Condition of his Affairs was not so full of Difficulty as it had been when He sent out his Proclamation, and since many were of Opinion, that there might be Doubts arise upon the Regularity of their Meeting; He was content to dismiss them till the twentieth of *October*.” And so They separated without any Debate.

THE Publick no sooner entered into this Repose, The Storm begins to arise against the Chancellor. than the Storm began to arise that destroyed all the Prosperity, ruined the Fortune, and shipwrecked all the Hopes, of the Chancellor, who had been the principal Instrument in the providing that Repose. The Parliament, that had been so unseasonably called together from their Business and Recreations, in a Season of the Year that They most desired to be vacant, were not pleased to be so soon dismissed: And very great Pains were taken by those, who were thought to be able to do him the least Harm, because They were known to be his Enemies, to persuade the Members of Parliament, “that it was the Chancellor “only who had hindered their continuing together, “and that He had advised the King to dissolve them;” which exceedingly inflamed them.

AND Sir *William Coventry* was so far from being re- Sir William Coventry incenses the Members of the House of Commons against him. served in his Malice, that the very Day that the Parliament was dismissed, after He had incensed them against the Chancellor, in the Presence of six or seven of the Members, who were not all of the same Mind; He declared, “that if at their next Meeting, which “would be within little more than two Months, They “had a Mind to remove the Chancellor from the “Court, They should easily bring it to pass:” Of all which He had quickly Information, and had several other Advertisements from Persons of Honour, “that “there was a strong Combination entered into against “him;” and They mentioned some Particulars to have been told the King concerning him, which had exceedingly offended his Majesty. All which Particulars, being without any Colour or Ground of Truth, He believed were Inventions (though not from those who informed him) only to amuse him.

YET He took an Opportunity to acquaint the King with it, who, with the same Openness He had always used, conferred with him about his present Business, but only of the Business. He besought his Majesty to let him know, “whether He had received any In-
“formation

“formation that He had done or said such and such “Things,” which He made appear to him to be in themselves so incredible and improbable, that it could hardly be in his Majesty’s Power to believe them; to which the King answered, “that Nobody had told “him any such Thing.” To which the other replied, “that He did really think They had not, though He “knew that They had bragged They had done so, “and thereby incensed his Majesty against him; “which They desired should be generally believed.”

THE Truth is; the Chancellor was guilty of that himself which He had used to accuse the Archbishop *Laud* of, that He was too proud of a good Conscience. He knew his own Innocence, and had no Kind of Apprehension of being publicly charged with any Crime. He knew well He had many Enemies who had Credit with the King, and that They did him all the ill Offices They could: And He knew that the Lady’s Power and Credit increased, and that She desired Nothing more than to remove him from his Majesty’s Confidence; in which He never thought her to blame, since She well knew that He employed all the Credit He had to remove her from the Court. But He thought himself very secure in the King’s Justice: And though his Kindness was much lessened, He was confident his Majesty would protect him from being oppressed, since He knew his Integrity; and never suspected that He would consent to his Ruin. He was in Truth weary of the Condition He was in, and had in the last Year undergone much Mortification; and desired Nothing more, than to be divested of all other Trusts and Employments than what concerned the Chancery only, in which He could have no Rival, and in the Administration whereof He had not heard of any Complaint: And this He thought might have satisfied all Parties; and had sometimes desired the King, “that He might retire from all other Business, than that of the Judicatory,” for He plainly discerned He was not able to contend with other Struggles.

I CANNOT

I CANNOT avoid in this Place mentioning an Accident that fell out in this Time, and enlarge upon all the Circumstances thereof, which might otherwise be passed over, but that it had an immediate Influence on the Fate of the Person who is so near his Fall. The King had been very much offended with the Duke of *Buckingham*, who had behaved himself much worse towards him than could be expected from his Obligations and Discretion, and had been in Truth the original Cause of all the ill Humour which had been in Both Houses of Parliament in the last Session; after the End of which He went into the Country without taking his Leave of the King, and in several Places spake with greater License of the Court and Government, and of the Person of the King, than any other Person presumed to do; of all which his Majesty had Intelligence and Information, and was at that Time without Doubt more offended with him than with any Man in *England*, and had really great Provocation to Jealousy of his Fidelity, as well as of his Respect and Affection. The Lord *Arlington*, a Secretary of State, had received several Informations of dangerous Words spoken by him against the King, and of his Correspondencies with Persons the most suspected for seditious Inclinations, the Duke having made himself very popular amongst the *Levellers*, and amongst them who clamoured for Liberty of Conscience, which Pretence He seemed very much to cherish.

*A Particular
relating to the
Duke of
Buckingham
which hastens
the Fate of the
Chancellor.*

THE King was very much awakened to be jealous of him, besides his Behaviour in the Parliament, by some Informations He received from his own Servants. There was one *Braythwaite* a Citizen, who had been a great Confident of *Cromwell* and of the *Council of State*, a Man of Parts, and looked upon as having a greater Interest with the discontented Party than any Man of the City. Upon the King's Return this Man fled beyond the Seas, and after near a Year's Stay there came again to *London*, but remained there as *incognito*, came not upon the *Exchange*, nor was seen in publick, and

*An Account
of the Duke's
Behaviour.*

returned again into *Holland*; and so made frequent Journies backward and forward for several Months, and then came and resided publickly in the City. This being taken Notice of by Sir *Richard Browne*, who was Major General of the City, upon whose Vigilance the King very much and very justly depended, and the Man being well known to him, He had long endeavoured to apprehend him, till He understood that He was a Servant to the Duke of *Buckingham*, and in great Trust with him, as He was; for the Duke had committed the whole Managery of his Estate to him, and upon his Recommendation had received many other inferiour Servants to be employed under him, all of the same Leven with him, and all notorious for their Disaffection to the Church and State. The Major General, being one Day to give the King an Account of some Business, told him likewise of this Man, "as one as worthy to be suspected for all disloyal Purposes, and as like to bring them to pass, as any Man of that Condition in *England*;" and seemed to wonder "that the Duke would entertain such a Person in his Service."

At that Time the Duke had by his Diligence, and those Faculties towards Mirth in which He excelled, made himself very acceptable to the King; though many wondered that He could be so, considering what the King himself knew of him: Insomuch that his Majesty told him what He had been informed of his Steward, and how much He suffered in his Reputation for entertaining such Servants. The Duke received the Animadversion with all possible Submission and Acknowledgment of the Obligation, and then enlarged upon the Commendation of the Man, "of his great Abilities, and the Benefit He received by his Service;" and besought his Majesty "that He would vouchsafe to hear him, for He believed He would give an Account of the State of the City, and of many Particulars which related to his Majesty's Service, better than most Men could do." -And the

the King shortly after supping at the Duke's House, He found an Opportunity to present Mr. *Braythwaite* to him, who was a Man of a very good Aspect, which that People used not to have, and of notable Insinuation. He made the King a Narration of the whole Course of his Life, in which He did not endeavour to make himself appear a better Man than He had been reported to be; which Kind of Ingenuity, as Men call it, is a wonderful Approach towards being believed. He related " by what Degrees, and in what " Method of Conviction, He had explicated himself " from all those ill Principles in which He had been " entangled : And that it had been a principal Motive " to him to embrace the Opportunity of serving the " Duke, that He might totally retire from that Com- " pany and Conversation to which He had been most " accustomed. And yet He thought He had so much " Credit with the chief of them, that They could ne- " ver enter into any active Combination, but He " should have Notice of it: And assured his Majesty " that Nothing should pass of Moment amongst that " People, but his Majesty should have very seasonable " Information of it, and that He would always serve " him with great Fidelity." In Fine, the King was well satisfied with his Discourse, and often afterwards upon the like Opportunities conferred with him, and believed him to be well disposed to do him any Service.

43) DURING the last Session of Parliament, in which the Duke carried himself so disrespectfully to the King, this Man found an Opportunity to get Access to his Majesty, which He was willing to give him; when He said, " that He thought it his Duty, and accord- " ing to his Obligation, to give his Majesty an Ac- " count of what He had lately observed, and of his " own Resolutions." He told him, " that his Lord " was of late very much altered, and was fallen into " the Acquaintance and Conversation of some Men of " very mean Condition, but of very desperate Inten- " tions; with whom He used to meet at unseasonable

" Hours,

“Hours, and in obscure Places, where Persons of Quality did not use to resort; and that He frequently received Letters from them: All which made him apprehend that there was a Design on Foot, which, how unreasonable soever, the Duke might be engaged in. And for these and other Reasons, and the irregular Course of his Life, He was resolved to withdraw himself from his Service: And that He hoped, into what Extravagancies soever the Duke should cast himself, his Majesty would retain a good Opinion of him, who would never swerve from his Affection and Duty.”

THE Information and Testimony, which the Lord *Arlington* brought to the King shortly after this Advertisement, made the greater Impression; and there were many Particulars in the Informations that could not be suspected to be forged. And it appeared that there was a poor Fellow, who had a poorer Lodging about *Tower-Hill*, and professed Skill in Horoscopes, to whom the Duke often repaired in Disguise in the Night: And the Lord *Arlington* had caused that Fellow to be apprehended, and his Pockets and his Chamber to be searched; where were found several Letters to the Duke of *Buckingham*, one or two whereof were in his Pocket sealed and not sent, and the rest Copies, and one original Letter from the Duke to him, in all which there were many unusual Expressions, which were capable of a very ill Interpretation, and could not bear a good one. This Man and some others were sent close Prisoners to the *Tower*, where the Lord *Arlington* and two other Privy Counsellors, by the King's Order, took their several Examinations, and confronted them with those Witnesses, who accused them and justified their Accusations; all which were brought to the King.

AND then his Majesty was pleased to acquaint the Chancellor with all that had passed, who to that Minute had not the least Imagination of any Particular relating to it: Nor had He any other Prejudice to the
Person

Person of the Duke (for He behaved himself towards him with more than ordinary Civility), than what was necessary for any Man to have upon Account of the Extravagancy of his Life; and which He could not be without, upon what He had often received from the Duke himself upon his own Knowledge. The King now shewed him all those Examinations and Depositions which had been taken; and that Letter to the Fellow, "which," his Majesty said, "He knew to be every Word the Duke's own Hand;" and the Letters to the Duke from the Fellow, which still gave him the Style of Prince, and mentioned what *great Things his Stars promised to him, and that He was the Darling of the People, who had set their Hearts and Affections and all their Hopes upon his Highness*, with many other foolish and fustian Expressions. His Majesty told him in what Places the Duke had been since He left London; "that He stayed few Days in any Place; and that He intended on such a Day, that was to come, to be in *Staffordshire* at the House of Sir *Charles Wolfely*," a Gentleman who had been of great Eminency in *Cromwell's* Council, and one of those who had been sent by the House of Commons to persuade him to accept the Crown with the Title of King. Upon the whole Matter his Majesty asked him, "what Way He was to proceed against him?" To which He answered, "that He was first to be apprehended; and when He should be in Custody and examined, his Majesty would better judge which Way He was to proceed against him."

UPON farther Consideration with the Chancellor and Lord *Arlington* and others of the Council, the King The King issues out his Warrant to apprehend him sent a Sergeant at Arms, with a Warrant under his Sign Manual, "to apprehend the Duke of *Buckingham*, and to bring him before one of the Secretaries of State, to answer to such Crimes as should be objected against him;" or to that Purpose. The Sergeant made a Journey into *Northamptonshire*, where He was informed the Duke was: But still, when He came

to the House where He was said to be, it was pretended that He was gone from thence some Hours before; by which He found that He had Notice of his Business. And therefore He concealed himself, and appointed some Men to watch and inform themselves of his Motions, it being generally reported that He would be at the House of the Earl of *Exeter* at such a Time. And Notice was given him, that He was then in a Coach with Ladies going to that House: Upon which He made so good Haste, that He was in View of the Coach, and saw the Duke alight out of the Coach, and lead a Lady into the House; upon which the Door of the Court was shut before He could get to it. He knocked loudly at that and other Doors that were all shut; so that He could not get into the House, though it were some Hours before Sunset in the Month of *May*. After some Hours Attendance, one Mr. *Fairfax*, who waited upon the Duke of *Buckingham*, came to the Door, and without opening it asked him, "what He would have:" And He answered, "that He had a Message to the Duke from the King, and that He must speak with him;" to which He replied, "that He was not there, and that He should seek for him in some other Place." The Sergeant told him, "that He saw him go into the House; and that if He might not be admitted to speak with him, He would require the Sheriff of the County to give him his Assistance:" Upon which the Gentleman went away, and about Half an Hour after returned again, and threatened the Sergeant so much, after He had opened the Door, that the poor Man had not the Courage to stay longer; but returned to the Court, and gave a full Relation in Writing to the Secretary of the Endeavours He had used, and the Affronts He had received.

WHY all the particular Circumstances of this Affair are so punctually related will appear anon. The King was so exceedingly offended at this Carriage and Behaviour of the Duke, that He made Relation of it to the Council.

*He is removed
from all his
Employments.*

Council-Board, and publickly declared, “that He
 “was no longer of that Number,” and caused his
 Name to be left out in the List of the Counsellors, and
 “that He was no longer a Gentleman of his Bed-
 “chamber,” and put the Earl of *Rocheſter* to wait in
 his Place. His Maſteſty likewiſe revoked that Com-
 miſſion by which He was conſtituted Lord Lieutenant
 of the Eaſt Riding in *Yorkſhire*, and granted that Com-
 miſſion to the Earl of *Burlington*: So that it was not
 poſſible for his Maſteſty to give more lively Inſtances of
 his Diſpleaſure againſt any Man, than He had done
 againſt the Duke. And at the ſame Time, with the
 Advice of the Board, a Proclamation iſſued out for
 his Apprehenſion, and inhibiting all Perſons to enter-
 tain, receive or conceal him. Upon which He thought
 it fit to leave the Country, and that He ſhould be leſs
 diſcovered in *London*, whither He reſorted, and had
 many Lodgings in ſeveral Quarters of the City. And
 though his Maſteſty had frequent Intelligence where
 He was, and continued Adverſements of the Liberty
 He took in his Diſcourſes of his own Perſon, and of
 ſome others, of which He was no leſs ſenſible; yet
 when the Sergeant at Arms, and others employed for
 32 his Apprehenſion, came where He was known to have
 been but an Hour before, He was gone from thence,
 or ſo concealed there that He could not be found:
 And in this Manner He continued ſleeping all the Day,
 and walking from Place to Place in the Night, for the
 Space of ſome Months.

At laſt being advertiſed of renewed Inſtances of the
 King's Diſpleaſure, and that it every Day increaſed
 upon new Intelligence that He received of his Beha-
 viour, He grew weary of the Poſture He was in, and
 employed ſeveral Perſons to move the King on his Be-
 half; for He was informed that the King reſolved to
 proceed againſt him for his Life, and that his Eſtate
 was begged and given. Upon this one Night He ſent
 his Secretary, Mr. *Clifford*, to the Chancellor, with
 whom He had never entered into any Diſpute, with
 ſome

*A Proclama-
 tion for ap-
 prehending
 him.*

*The Duke de-
 ſires the Chan-
 cellor to inter-
 poſe in his
 Behalf.*

some Compliments and Expressions of Confidence in his Friendship. He professed "great Innocence and Integrity in all his Actions with Reference to the King, though He might have been passionate and indiscreet in his Words; that there was a Conspiracy against his Life, and that his Estate was granted or promised to Persons who had begged it." And in Conclusion He desired "that He would send him his Advice what He should do, but rather, that He would permit him to come to him in the Evening to his House that He might confer with him."

The Chancellor's Advice to him.

THE Chancellor answered his Secretary, who was well known to him, "that He might not confer with him till He rendered himself to the King; that He was confident, having seen Testimony enough to convince him, that the Duke was not innocent; and that He had much to answer for disrespectful Mention of the King, which would require much Acknowledgment and Submission: But that He did not know that his Crimes were of that Magnitude as would put his Life into Danger; and that He was most confident that there was no Conspiracy to take that from him, except his Faults were of another Nature than they yet appeared to be; and which no Conspiracy, which He need not fear, could deprive him of. And He did not believe that there had been any Attempt to beg his Estate: But He was sure there had not been, nor could be, any Grant of it to any Man, which must have passed by the Great Seal." He did advise him, and desired him to follow his Advice, "that if He did know himself innocent as to unlawful Actions and Designs, and that his Fault consisted only in indiscreet Words, as He seemed to confess; He would no longer aggravate his Offence by contemning his Warrants, which He would not be long able to avoid, but deliver himself into the Custody of the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, which He was at Liberty by the Proclamation to do, and send then a Petition to the King, that He

" might

“ might be heard : And that when He had done
 “ this, He would be ready and willing to do him all
 “ the Offices which would consist with his Duty.”

AND the next Day He gave his Majesty a particular Account of the Message which He had received, and of the Answer which He had returned ; which his Majesty approved, and shewed him a Letter that He had received from the Duke that Morning, which seemed to have been written after his Secretary had returned from the Chancellor. The Letter contained a large Profession of his Innocence, and Complaint of the Power of his Enemies, and a very earnest Desire “ that
 “ his Majesty would give him Leave to speak with
 “ him, and then dispose of him as He pleased ;” to which his Majesty had answered to the Person who brought the Letter, who, as I remember, was Sir
 (3) *Robert Howard*, “ that the Duke need not fear the
 “ Power of any Enemies, but would be sure to have
 “ Justice if He would submit to it.”

BUT his Majesty in his Discourse seemed to be as weary The King grows weary of the Prosecution. of the Prosecution, as the Duke was of the concealing himself to avoid it, and to have much Apprehension of his Interest and Power in the Parliament ; and to be troubled that the principal Witness, upon whose Testimony He relied, was at that Time sick of the Smallpox, and in Danger of Death, and that another retracted Part of that Evidence that He had given. In a Word ; his Majesty appeared less angry than He had been, and willing that an End should be put to the Business without any publick Prosecution. To which the Chancellor made no other Answer, than “ that no
 “ Advice could be given with Preservation of his Majesty’s Dignity, till the Duke rendered himself into
 “ the Hand of Justice :” Which He was very unwilling to do, and sent again to the Chancellor by Sir *Robert Howard*, to press him, “ that He might be admitted
 “ first to the King’s Presence, and then sent to the
 “ Tower.” The other told him, “ that if the King
 “ were inclined to admit him in that Manner, He
 T 3 “ would

“ would dissuade him from it, as a Thing dishonour-
 “ able to him after so long a Contest;” and repeated
 the same to him that He said formerly to Mr. *Clifford* :
 Nor could He be persuaded by any others (for others
 did speak to him to the same Purpose) to recede a
 Tittle from what He had insisted upon, “ that He
 “ should put himself in the *Tower*.” In all which He
 still gave the King a faithful Account of every Word
 that passed : For He knew well that the Lord *Ar-*
lington endeavoured to persuade the King, “ that the
 “ Chancellor favoured the Duke, and desired that He
 “ should be at Liberty;” when at the same Time He
 used all the Ways He could to have it insinuated to
 the Duke’s Friends, “ that He knew Nothing of the
 “ Business, but that the whole Prosecution was made
 “ by the Information and Advice of the Chancellor.”

*The Duke sur-
 renders him-
 self.*

IN the End, the Duke was persuaded to render
 himself to the *Tower* : And from thence He sent a
 Petition to the King, who presently appeared very
 well inclined to give over any farther Prosecution;
 which Alteration all Men wondered at, nor could any
 Man imagine the Ground or Reason of it. For
 though the principal Witness was dead, as the Lord
Arlington declared He was, and that so much could
 not be proved as at the first Discovery was reasonably
 suspected; yet the Meanness and Vileness of the Per-
 sons with whom He kept so familiar Correspondence,
 the Letters between them which were ready to
 be produced, the disrespectful and scandalous Dis-
 courses, which He often held concerning the King’s
 Person, and many other Particulars which had most
 inflamed the King, and which might fully have been
 proved, would have manifested so much Vanity and
 Presumption in the Duke, as must have lessened his
 Credit and Reputation with all serious Men, and
 made him worthy of severe Censure. But whether the
 King thought not fit to proceed upon the Words and
 scandalous Discourses, which He thought would more
 disperse and publish the Scandals; or whether He did
 really

really believe that it would disturb and obstruct all his Business in Parliament; or what other Reason soever prevailed with his Majesty, as without Doubt some other there were: His Majesty was very impatient to be rid of the Business, and would have been easily persuaded to have given present Order for setting the Duke at Liberty, and so to silence all farther Discourse. But He was persuaded, "that that" "would most reflect upon his own Honour, by making it believed, that there had been in Truth a foul" "Conspiracy against the Person of the Duke, which" "would give him more Credit in the Parliament and" "every where else;" for the King had not yet, with
 4) all his Indulgence, a better Opinion of his Affection and Fidelity than He had before.

In Conclusion; it was resolved, "that the Lieu-^{He is examined at the Council-Board.}tenant of the *Tower* should bring the Duke of *Buckingham* to the Council-Chamber, his Majesty being present; and there the Attorney and Solicitor General should open the Charge that was against him, and read all the Examinations which had been taken, and the Letters which had passed between them:" All which was done. And the Duke denying "that He had ever written to that Fellow, though He knew him well, and used to make himself merry with him," the Letter was produced (which the King and the Lord *Arlington*, who Both knew his Hand well, made no Doubt to be his Hand) and delivered to the Duke; who, as soon as He cast his Eye upon it, said, "it was not his Hand, but He well knew whose it was." And being asked whose Hand it was, He said, "it was his Sister's, the Dutches's of *Richmond*, with whom," He said, "it was known that He had no Correspondence." Whereupon the King called for the Letter, and, having looked upon it, He said, "He had been mistaken," and confessed "that it was the Dutches's Hand;" and seemed much out of Countenance upon the Mistake: Though the Letter gave still as much Cause of Suspicion, for

it was as strange that She should write to such a Fellow in a Style very obliging, and in Answer to a Letter; so that it seemed very reasonable still to believe, that She might have written it upon his Desire and dictating.

THE Duke denied most of the Particulars contained in the Examinations: And for the other Letters which had been written to him by the Fellow who was in the *Tower* (whereof one was found in his Pocket sealed to be sent to the Duke, and the others were Copies of others which had been sent; and the Witness who was dead had delivered one of them into the Duke's own Hand, and related at large the Kindness He expressed towards the Man, and the Message He sent to him by him), He denied that He had ever received those Letters; but acknowledged, "that the Man came often to him, and pretended great Skill in Horoscopes, but more in Distillations, in which the Duke delighted and exercised himself, but looked upon the Fellow as cracked in his Brain and fit only to be laughed at." When the Duke was withdrawn, the King declared, "that He had been deceived in being confident that the Letter had been written by the Duke, which He now discerned not to be his Hand, and He knew as well to have been written by the Dutchess," and thereupon seemed to think that there was Nothing else worth the examining: And so Order was given to set the Duke at Liberty, who immediately went to his own House, and went not in some Days afterwards to the Court.

The King easily satisfied with his Defence.

The Chancellor loses his Wife.

ABOUT this Time, or in a few Days afterwards, a great Affliction befell the Chancellor in his Domesticks, which prepared him to bear all the unexpected Accidents that suddenly succeeded that more insupportable Misfortune. His Wife, the Mother of all his Children, and his Companion in all his Banishment, and who had made all his former Calamities less grievous by her Company and Courage, having made

made a Journey to *Tunbridge* for her Health, returned from thence without the Benefit She expected, yet without being thought by the Physicians to be in any Danger; and within less than three Days died: Which was so sudden, unexpected and irreparable a Loss that He had not Courage to support; which Nobody wondered at who knew the mutual Satisfaction and Comfort They had in each other. And He might possibly have sunk under it, if his Enemies had not found out a new Kind of Consolation to him, which his Friends could never have thought of.

- 5) WITHIN few Days after his Wife's Death, the King vouchsafed to come to his House to condole with him, and used many gracious Expressions to him: Yet within less than a Fortnight the Duke (who was seldom a Day without doing him the Honour to see him) came to him, and with very much Trouble told him, "that such a Day, that was past, walking with the King in the Park, his Majesty asked him *how the Chancellor did*: To which his Highness had made Answer, *that He was the most disconsolate Person He ever saw; and that He had lamented himself to him not only upon the Loss of his Wife, but out of Apprehension that his Majesty had of late withdrawn his Countenance from him*; to which his Majesty replied, *that He wondered He should think so, but that He would speak more to him of that Subject the next Day*. And that that Morning his Majesty had held a long Discourse with him, in which He told him, *that He had received very particular and certain Intelligence, that when the Parliament should meet again They were resolved to impeach the Chancellor, who was grown very odious to them, not only for his having opposed them in all those Things upon which They had set their Hearts, but that They had been informed that He had proposed and advised their Dissolution; which had enraged them to that Degree, that They had taken a Resolution as soon as They came together again to send up an Impeachment against him; which would be a great Dishonour to his Majesty and obstruct all his Affairs, nor*
- "should

The Duke of York sent by the King to desire the Chancellor to resign.

“*should He be able to protect him or divert them: And*
 “*therefore that it would be necessary for his Service, and*
 “*likewise for the Preservation of the Chancellor, that He*
 “*should deliver up the Seal to him. All which He de-*
 “*fired the Duke*” (who confessed that He had like-
 wise received the same Advertisement) “*to inform him*
 “*of: And that the Chancellor himself should choose the*
 “*Way and the Manner of delivering up the Seal, whether*
 “*He would wait upon the King and give it into his own*
 “*Hand, or whether the King should send a Secretary or a*
 “*Privy Counsellor for it.*” When the Duke had said
 all that the King had given him in Charge, He de-
 clared himself “*to be much unsatisfied with the King’s*
 “*Resolution; and that though He had received the*
 “*same Advertisement, and believed that there was a*
 “*real Combination and Conspiracy against him, yet*
 “*He knew the Chancellor’s Innocence would not be*
 “*frighted with it.*”

THE Chancellor was indeed as much surprised with
 this Relation, as He could have been at the Sight of
 a Warrant for his Execution. He told the Duke,
 “*that He did not wonder that the King and his High-*
 “*ness had been informed of such a Resolution; for*
 “*that They who had contrived the Conspiracy, and*
 “*done all They could to make it prevalent, could best*
 “*inform his Majesty and his Highness of what would*
 “*probably fall out.*” And thereupon He informed
 the Duke “*of what had passed at the Day of the last*
 “*Prorogation, and the Discourse and Promise Sir*
 “*William Coventry had made to them, if They had a*
 “*Mind to be rid of the Chancellor: But,*” He said,
 “*that which only afflicted him was, that the King*
 “*should have no better Opinion of his Innocence and*
 “*Integrity, than to conclude that such a Combination*
 “*must ruin him. And He was more troubled to find,*
 “*that the King himself had so terrible an Apprehen-*
 “*sion of their Power and their Purposes, as if They*
 “*might do any Thing They had a Mind to do. He*
 “*did not believe that He was so odious to the Parlia-*
 “*ment*”

ment as He was reported to be; if He were, it was only for his Zeal to his Majesty's Service, and his insisting upon what his Majesty had resolved: But He was confident that when his Enemies had done all that their Malice could suggest against him, it would appear that the Parliament was not of their Mind. He wished that He might have the Honour to speak with the King, before He returned any Answer to his Commands." The Duke was pleased graciously to reply, "that it was the Advice He intended to give him, that He should desire it; and that He doubted not but that He should easily prevail with the King to come to his House, whither He had used so frequently to come, and where He had been so few Days before:" And at this Time the Chancellor was not well able to walk; besides that it was against the common Rules of Decency to go so soon out of his House. When the Duke desired the King, that He would vouchsafe to go to *Clarendon-House*; his Majesty very readily consented to it, and said, "He would go thither the next Day." But that and more Days passed: And then He told the Duke, "that since He resolved to take the Seal, it would not be so fit for him to go thither; but He would send for the Chancellor to come to his own Chamber in *Whitehall*, and He would go thither to him."

In the mean Time it began to be the Discourse of the Court: And the Dutches, from whom the Duke had yet concealed it, came to be informed of it; who presently went to the King with some Passion; and the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and the General accompanied her, who all besought the King not to take such a Resolution. And many other of the Privy Council, with none of whom the Chancellor had spoken, taking Notice of the Rumour, attended the King with the same Suit and Advice. To all whom his Majesty answered, "that what He intended was for his Good, and the only Way to preserve him." He held longer Discourse to the General, "that He did believe by
 " what

*Many Persons
 of Eminence
 interpose in his
 Behalf.*

“ what his Brother had told him, of the extreme
 “ Agony the Chancellor was in upon the Death of his
 “ Wife, that He had himself desired to be dismissed
 “ from his Office ;” and bade the General “ go to
 “ him, and bid him come the next Morning to his
 “ own Chamber at *Whitehall*, and the King would
 “ come thither to him.” And the General came to
 him with great Professions of Kindness, which He had
 well deserved from him, gave him a Relation of all
 that had passed with the King, and concluded, “ that
 “ what had been done had been upon Mistake; and
 “ He doubted not, but that upon Conference with his
 “ Majesty all Things would be well settled again to his
 “ Content;” which no Doubt He did at that Time
 believe as well as wish.

*The Chancellor
 attends the
 King at
 Whitehall.*

*Conference be-
 tween them.*

UPON *Monday*, the twenty-sixth of *August*, about
 Ten of the Clock in the Morning, the Chancellor went
 to his Chamber in *Whitehall*, where He had not been
 many Minutes, before the King and Duke by them-
 selves came into the Room, His Majesty looked
 very graciously upon him, and made him sit down;
 when the other acknowledged “ the Honour his Ma-
 “ jesty had done him, in admitting him into his Pre-
 “ fence before He executed a Resolution He had ta-
 “ ken.” He said, “ that He had no Suit to make to
 “ him, nor the least Thought to dispute with him, or
 “ to divert him from the Resolution He had taken;
 “ but only to receive his Determination from himself,
 “ and most humbly to beseech him to let him know
 “ what Fault He had committed, that had drawn this
 “ Severity upon him from his Majesty.” The King
 told him, “ He had not any Thing to object against
 “ him; but must always acknowledge, that He had
 “ always served him honestly and faithfully, and that
 “ He did believe that never King had a better Servant:
 “ and that He had taken this Resolution for his Good
 “ and Preservation, as well as for his own Convenience
 “ and Security; and that He had verily believed that
 “ it had been upon his Consent and Desire.” And
 thereupon

thereupon his Majesty entered upon a Relation of all that had passed between him and the Duke, and “that He really thought his Brother had concurred with him in his Opinion, as the only Way to preserve him.” In that Discourse the Duke sometimes positively denied to have said Somewhat, and explained other Things as not said to the Purpose his Majesty understood, or that He ever implied that himself thought it fit.

THE Sum of what his Majesty said was, “that He was most assured by Information that could not deceive him, that the Parliament was resolved, as soon as They should come together again, to impeach the Chancellor; and then that his Innocence would no more defend and secure him against their Power, than the Earl of *Strafford* had defended himself against them: And,” He said, “He was as sure, that his taking the Seal from him at this Time would so well please the Parliament, that his Majesty should thereby be able to preserve him, and to provide for the Passage of his own Business, and the obtaining all that He desired.” He said, “He was sorry that the Business had taken so much Air, and was so publicly spoken of, that He knew not how to change his Purpose;” Which He seemed to impute to the Passion of the Dutchess, that had divulged it.

THE Chancellor told him, “that He had not contributed to the Noise, nor had imparted it to his own Children, till They with great Trouble informed him, that They heard it from such and such Persons,” whom They named, “with some Complaint that it was concealed from them: Nor did He then come in Hope to divert him from the Resolution He had taken in the Matter itself.” He said, “He had but two Things to trouble him with. The first, that He would by no Means suffer it to be believed that He himself was willing to deliver up the Seal; and that He should not think himself
“ a Gen-

"a Gentleman, if He were willing, to depart and
 "withdraw himself from the Office, in a Time when
 "He thought his Majesty would have Need of all
 "honest Men, and in which He thought He might
 "be able to do him some Service. The second, that
 "He could not acknowledge this Deprivation to be
 "done in his Favour, or in Order to do him Good;
 "but on the Contrary, that He looked upon it as the
 "greatest Ruin He could undergo, by his Majesty's
 "own declaring his Judgment upon him, which would
 "amount to little less than a Confirmation of those
 "many libellous Discourses which had been raised,
 "and would upon the Matter expose him to the
 "Rage and Fury of the People, who had been with
 "great Artifice and Industry persuaded to believe,
 "that He had been the Cause and the Counsellor of
 "all that They liked not. That He was so far from
 "fearing the Justice of the Parliament, that He re-
 "nounced his Majesty's Protection or Interposition
 "towards his Preservation: And that though the
 "Earl of *Strafford* had undergone a Sentence He did
 "not deserve, yet He could not acknowledge their
 "Cases to be parallel. That though that great Per-
 "son had never committed any Offence that could
 "amount to Treason, yet He had done many Things
 "which He could not justify, and which were Trans-
 "gressions against the Law: Whereas He was not
 "guilty of any Action, whereof He did not desire
 "the Law might be the Judge. And if his Majesty
 "himself should discover all that He had said to him
 "in Secret, He feared not any Censure that should
 "attend it: If any Body could charge him with any
 "Crime or Offence, He would most willingly under-
 "go the Punishment that belonged to it."

"But," He said, "He doubted very much, that
 "the throwing off an old Servant, who had served
 "the Crown in some Trust near thirty Years (who
 "had the Honour by the Command of his blessed
 "Father, who had left good Evidence of the Esteem
 "He

“He had of his Fidelity, to wait upon his Majesty when He went out of the Kingdom, and by the great Blessing of God had the Honour to return with him again; which no other Counsellor alive could say), on the Sudden, without any Suggestion of a Crime, nay with a Declaration of Innocence, would call his Majesty’s Justice and good Nature into Question; and Men would not know how securely to serve him, when They should see it was in the Power of three or four Persons who had never done him any notable Service, nor were in the Opinion of those who knew them best like to do, to dispose him to so ungracious an Act.”

THE King seemed very much troubled and irresolute; then repeated “the great Power of the Parliament, and the clear Information He had of their Purposes, which They were resolved to go through with right or wrong; and that his own Condition was such, that He could not dispute with them, but was upon the Matter at their Mercy.”

THE Chancellor told him, “it was not possible for his Majesty to have any probable Assurance what the Parliament would do. And though He knew He had offended some of the House of Commons, in opposing their Desires in such Particulars as his Majesty thought were prejudicial to his Service; yet He did not doubt but his Reputation was much greater in Both Houses, than either of theirs who were known to be his Enemies, and to have this Influence upon his Majesty, who were all known to be guilty of some Transgressions, which They would have been called in Question for in Parliament, if He had not very industriously, out of the Tenderness He had for his Majesty’s Honour and Service, prevented it; Somewhat whereof was not unknown to his Majesty.” He concluded “with beseeching him, whatever Resolution He took in his Particular, not to suffer his Spirits to fall, nor himself to be dejected with the Apprehension of the formidable Power of
“the

“the Parliament, which was more or less or Nothing, “as He pleased to make it: That it was yet in his “own Power to govern them; but if They found it “was in theirs to govern him, Nobody knew what “the End would be.” And thereupon He made him a short Relation of the Method that was used in the Time of *Richard* the Second, “when They terrified “the King with the Power and the Purposes of the “Parliament, till They brought him to consent to “that from which He could not redeem himself, “and without which They could have done him no “Harm.” And in the Warmth of this Relation He found a seasonable Opportunity to mention the Lady with some Reflections and Cautions, which He might more advisedly have declined.

*The King
leaves him in
Displeasure.*

AFTER two Hours Discourse the King rose without saying any Thing, but appeared not well pleased with all that had been said; and the Duke of *York* found He was offended with the last Part of it. The Garden, that used to be private, had now many in it to observe the Countenance of the King when He came out of the Room: And when the Chancellor returned, the Lady, the Lord *Arlington* and Mr. *May*, looked together out of her open Window with great Gaiety and Triumph, which all People observed.

FOUR or five Days passed without any farther Proceedings, or the King’s declaring his Resolution: And in that Time the Chancellor’s Concern was the only Argument of the Court. Many of the Council, and other Persons of Honour and Interest, presumed to speak with the King, and to give a very good Testimony of him, of his unquestionable Integrity, and of his Parts, and Credit with the sober Part of the Nation: And to those his Majesty always commended him, with Profession of much Kindness; but said, “He had made himself odious to the Parliament, and so was no more capable to do him Service.” On the other Side the Lady and Lord *Arlington* and Sir *William Coventry* exceedingly triumphed,

phed, the last of which openly and without Reserve declared, "that He had given the King Advice to
 "remove him as a Man odious to the Parliament,
 "and that the King would be ruined if He did it
 "not; that He was so imperious that He would en-
 "dure no Contradiction;" with many other Re-
 proaches to that Purpose. But except those three,
 and Mr. *May* and Mr. *Brounker*, there seemed none
 of Name in the Court who wished that the Resolution
 should be pursued.

THE Duke of *York* concerned himself wonderfully on the Chancellor's Behalf, and with as much Warmth as any private Gentleman could express on the Behalf of his Friend. He had great Indignation at the Behaviour of Sir *William Coventry* and Mr. *Brounker*, that being his Servants They should presume to shew so much Malice towards a Person They knew He had Kindness for. And the former had so much Sense of it, that He resolved to quit the Relation by which He had got vast Wealth, and came to him, and told him, "that since He was Commissioner for the Treas-
 "fury, He found He should not be able to attend
 "his Service so diligently as He ought to do; and
 "therefore desired his Highness's Favour in his Dis-
 "mission, and that He would give him Leave to
 "commend an honest Man to succeed him in his Ser-
 "vice:" To which his Highness shortly answered,
 "that He might dispose himself as He would, with
 "which He was well content; and that He would
 "choose another Secretary for himself without his
 "Recommendation." And his Highness presently
 went to the Chancellor, and informed him of it, with
 Displeasure enough towards the Man, and much Sa-
 tisfaction that He was rid of him; and asked him
 "whom He would recommend to him for a Secre-
 "tary." He told his Highness, "that if He would
 "trust his Judgment, He would recommend a Person
 "to him, who He believed was not unknown to him,
 "and for whose Parts and Fidelity He would pass his
 "Word,

“ Word, having had good Experience of Both in his
 “ having served him as a Secretary for the Space of
 “ above seven Years ;” and named Mr. *Wren*. The
 Duke said, “ He knew him well, being a Member
 “ of the Royal Company, where He often heard him
 “ speak very intelligently, and discerned him to be a
 “ Man of very good Parts, and therefore He would
 “ very willingly receive him ; and the rather, that
 “ He knew it would be looked upon as an Evidence
 “ of his Kindness to him, which He would always
 “ own and testify to all the World :” And within
 two Days after, He received him into his Service
 with the King’s Approbation, the Gentleman’s Abi-
 lities being very well known, and his Person much
 loved.

In this Suspension, the common Argument was,
 “ that it was not now the Question whether the Chan-
 “ cellor was innocent ; but whether, when the King
 “ had so long resolved to remove him, and had now
 “ proceeded so far towards it, He should retract his
 “ Resolution, and be governed by his Brother : It was
 “ enough that He was not beloved, and that the
 “ Court wished him removed.” And Mr. *Brounker*
 openly declared, “ that the Resolution had been taken
 “ above two Months before ; and that it would not
 “ consist with his Majesty’s Honour to be hector’d
 “ out of it by his Brother, who was wrought upon
 “ by his Wife’s Crying.” And this Kind of Argu-
 mentation was every Moment inculcated by the La-
 dy and her Party : Insomuch as when the Duke made
 his Instances with all the Importunity He could use,
 and put his Majesty in Mind “ of many Discourses
 “ his Majesty had formerly held with him, of the
 “ Chancellor’s Honesty and Discretion, conjuring him
 “ to love and esteem him accordingly, when his High-
 “ ness had not so good an Opinion of him ;” and (44)
 complained, “ that now He had found by good Ex-
 “ perience that He deserved that Character, his Ma-
 “ jesty would withdraw his Kindness from him, and

“ rather

“rather believe others, who He knew were his Enemies, than his own Judgment:” The King gave no other Answer, than “that He had proceeded too far to retire; and that He should be looked upon as a Child if He receded from his Purpose.”

AND so being reconfirmed, upon the thirtieth of *August* in the Year 1667 He sent Secretary *Morrice*, ^{*The great Seal taken from the Chancellor.*} who had no Mind to the Employment, with a War-rant under the Sign Manual, to require and receive the Great Seal; which the Chancellor immediately delivered to him with all the Expressions of Duty to the King. And as soon as the Secretary had delivered it to the King in his Clofet, Mr. *May* went into the Clofet, and fell upon his Knees, and kissed his Majesty's Hand, telling him “that He was now King, “which He had never been before.”

THE Chancellor believed that the Storm had been now over; for He had not the least Apprehension of the Displeasure of the Parliament, or of any Thing They could say or do against him: Yet He resolved to stay at his House till it should meet (without going thither, which He was informed would be ill taken), that He might not be thought to be afraid of being questioned; and then to retire into the Country, and to live there very privately. And there was a Report raised without any Ground, that He intended to go to the House of Peers, and take his Precedence as Chancellor, with which the King was much offended: But as soon as He heard of it, He desired the Lord Chamberlain to assure his Majesty, “that He never intended any such Thing, nor “would ever do any Thing that He believed would “displease him;” with which He seemed well satisfied.

HOWEVER a new Tempest was quickly raised against him. Many Persons of Honour and Quality came every Day to visit him with many Expressions of Affection and Esteem; and most of the King's Servants, except only those few who had declared

themselves his Enemies, still frequented his House with the same Kindness They had always professed : But They were looked upon quickly with a very ill Countenance by the other Party, and were plainly told, “ that the King would take it ill from all his “ Servants who visited the Chancellor ; ” though when some of them asked his Majesty, “ whether their visiting him, to whom They had been formerly much “ beholden, would offend his Majesty ; ” He answered, “ No, He had not forbid any Man to visit him.” Yet it appeared more every Day, that They were best looked on who forbore going to him, and the other found themselves upon much Disadvantage ; by which however many were not discouraged.

THE chief Prosecutors behaved themselves with more Insolence than was agreeable to their Discretion : And the Lord *Arlington*, who had long before behaved himself with very little Courtesy towards all Persons whom He believed to be well affected to the Chancellor, even towards Ambassadors and other foreign Ministers, now when any of his Friends came to him for the Dispatch of Business in his Office, asked them “ when They saw the Chancellor,” and bade them “ go to him to put their Business into a “ Method.” The Duke of *Buckingham*, who had after his Enlargement visited the Chancellor, and acknowledged the Civilities He had received from him, came now again to the Court, and was received with

*The Duke of
Buckingham
restored to all
his Employ-
ments.*

extraordinary Grace by the King, and restored to all the Honours and Offices of which He was deprived ; and was informed and assured, “ that all the Proceedings which had been against him were upon “ the Information and Advice of the Chancellor : ” And whatever He had spoken in Council was told (447 him in that Manner (and without the true Circumstances) that might make most Impression on him.

ONE Day whilst that Matter was depending (which is not mentioned before) the Lord *Arlington*, after He found the King had acquainted the Chancellor

with

with the Business, and shewed him the Information and Examinations which had been taken, proposed, there being more or the same Witnesses to be farther examined, "that the Chancellor might be present with the rest who had been formerly employed at their examining:" Which the King seeming to consent to, the other desired to be excused, "for that the Office He held never used to be subject to those Employments;" and in the Debate added, "that if the Testimony of Witnesses made good all that was suggested, and the Duke should be brought to a Trial, it might probably fall out, that the King might command him to execute the Office of High Steward, as He had lately done in the Trial of the Lord *Morley*; and in that Respect it would be very incongruous for him to be present at the Examinations." The Duke was now informed, without any He is inflamed against the Chancellor. of the Circumstances, that the Chancellor had said that He was to be High Steward at the Trial of the Duke.

THE Duke, who always believed, and could not but upon the Matter know, that the Lord *Arlington* (with whom He had Enmity) had been very solicitous in his Prosecution, had, after his having visited the Chancellor, sent a Friend, whom He thought He would trust, to him "to desire him to deal freely with him concerning the Lord *Arlington*, whom He knew to be an Enemy to Both of them; and that He must have him examined upon that Conspiracy, which He hoped He would not take ill:" To which He answered, "that He neither would nor could be examined concerning any Thing that had been said or done in Council; but that He would as his Friend, and to prevent his exposing himself to any new Inconveniences, very freely and faithfully assure him, that He did not believe that there had been any Conspiracy against him, nor did know that the Lord *Arlington* had done any Thing in the Prosecution, but what was according to the Obligation

*And induced
to concur in the
Prosecution.*

“gation and Duty of his Office ; which Testimony,” He said, “could proceed only from Justice, since He “well knew that Lord did not wish him well.” This Answer, it seems, or the Despair of drawing any other from him to his Purpose, disposed him to give entire Credit to the other Information ; and the King took great Pains to reconcile him to the Lord *Arlington*, who made many Vows to him of his future Service, and desired his Protection : And hereupon the Duke openly professed his Resolution of Revenge, and frankly entered into the Combination with the Lord *Arlington* and Sir *William Coventry* against the Chancellor.

*The King expresses great
Displeasure
against the
Chancellor.*

BUT the Knowledge of all this did not give him much Trouble (so much Confidence He had in his own Innocence, and so little Esteem of the Credit and Interest of his Enemies), until He heard that the King himself expressed great Displeasure towards him, and declared “that He had misbehaved himself towards his Majesty, and that He was so imperious that He would endure no Contradiction ; “that He had a Faction in the House of Commons, “that opposed every Thing that concerned his Majesty’s Service, if it were not recommended to them “by him ; and that He had given him very ill Advice concerning the Parliament, which offended “him most :” All which They to whom his Majesty said it divulged to others, that They might thereby lessen the Chancellor’s Credit and Interest. It is very true, They who had taken all Advantages to alienate the King’s Affections from him, had at first only proposed his Removal “as a Person odious to the “Parliament, and whom They were resolved to impeach, which would put his Majesty into a Streight, “either to renounce and desert an old Servant, which “would not be for his Honour, or, by protecting “him, to deprive himself of all those Benefits which “He expected from the Parliament ; whereas the “removing him would so gratify the Houses, that “They

“They would deny Nothing that his Majesty should demand of them;” and his Majesty did believe it the only Way to preserve him. But when They had prevailed so far, and rendered themselves more necessary to him, They prosecuted what They had begun with more visible Animosity, and told him, “that if the Parliament suspected that his Majesty retained still any Kindness towards him, They would not be satisfied with his Removal, but apprehend that He would be again received into his Favour; and He would in the mean Time have so much Credit in Both Houses, especially if He sat in the House of Peers,” which They undertook to know He intended to do, “that He would be able to obstruct whatsoever his Majesty desired: And therefore it was necessary that his Majesty should upon all Occasions declare, and that it should be believed, that He had so full a Prejudice against him, that Nobody should have Cause to fear, that He would ever again be received into any Trust.” And this disposed his Majesty to discourse to many in that Manner that is before set down.

AND when the Duke of *York* lamented to his Majesty the Reports which were generally spread abroad, of the Discourses which He made to many Persons of the Chancellor’s Misbehaviour towards himself, and his own Displeasure against him; the King denied many of the Particulars, as that concerning his ill Counsel against the Parliament, which He denied to have spoken: But said withal, “that if the Chancellor had done as He advised him, and delivered up the Seal to him as of his own Inclination, all would have been quiet. But since He insisted so much upon it, and compelled him to send for it in that Manner, He was obliged in the Vindication of his Honour to give some Reasons for what He had done, when other Men took upon them so loudly to commend the Chancellor, and to justify his Innocence, not without some Reflection upon his

“own Honour and Justice, which He could not but
 “take very ill : But He should not suffer” (He said)
 “for what other Men did, and that He would use
 “his two Sons as kindly as ever He had done.” And
 it must be always acknowledged, that though great
 Importunity was used to his Majesty to discharge his
 two Sons from his Service, as a Thing necessary by
 all the Rules of Policy, not to suffer the Sons to re-
 main so near his Person, when their Father lay under
 so notorious a Brand of his Displeasure (in which They
 believed They had so far prevailed, that They took
 upon them to promise their Places to other Men);
 yet the King positively refused to yield to them, and
 continued his Favour still to them Both in the same
 Manner He had done. And though He was long
 after perswaded to suspend his eldest Son from wait-
 ing, under which Cloud He continued for many
 Months, yet at last He was restored to his Place with
 Circumstances of extraordinary Favour and Grace:
 Nor did his Majesty afterwards recede from his Good-
 ness towards either of them, notwithstanding all the
 Attempts which were made.

*The Parlia-
 ment meets :
 The King re-
 fleets on the
 Chancellor.*

THE Parliament met upon the tenth of *October*,
 when the King in a short Speech told them, “that
 “there had been some former Miscarriages, which
 “had occasioned some Differences between him and
 “them : But that He had now altered his Counsels,
 “and made no Question but that They should
 “henceforward agree, for He was resolved to give
 “them all Satisfaction ; and did not doubt but that (44
 “They would supply his Necessities, and provide for
 “the Payment of his Debts ;” with an Insinuation,
 “that what had been formerly done amiss had been
 “by the Advice of the Person whom He had remov-
 “ed from his Counsels, and with whom He should
 “not hereafter advise,”

*Unfair Me-
 thods used to
 induce Both
 Houses to bank
 the King for
 removing him.*

WHEN the House of Commons came together,
 one *Tomkins*, a Man of very contemptible Parts and
 of worse Manners (who used to be encouraged by Men
 of

of Design to set some Motion on Foot, which They thought not fit to appear in themselves till They discerned how it would take), moved the House, "that They might send a Message of Thanks to the King for his gracious Expressions, and for the many good Things which He had done, and particularly for his removing the Chancellor;" which was seconded by two or three, but rejected by the House as a Thing unreasonable for them who knew not the Motives which had disposed his Majesty: And so a Committee was appointed to prepare such a Message as might be fit for them to send. And the House of Lords the same Day sent to the King, without consulting with the House of Commons, to give his Majesty Thanks for the Speech He had made to them in the Morning, which commonly used to be done. The King declared himself very much offended that the Proposition in the House of Commons for returning Thanks to him had not succeeded, and more that it had been opposed by many of his own Servants; and commanded them "to press and renew the Motion: That his Honour was concerned in it; and therefore He would expect Thanks, and would take it very ill of any of his own Servants who refused to concur in it." Hereupon it was again moved: But notwithstanding all the Labour that had been used contrary to all Custom and Privilege of Parliament, the Question held six Hours Debate, very many speaking against the Injustice and Irregularity of it; They on the other Side urging the King's Expectation of it. In the End the Question being put, it was believed the *Noes* were the greater Number: But the Division of the House was not urged for many Reasons; and so the Vote was sent to the House of Lords, who were desired to concur with them.

BUT it had there a greater Contradiction. They had already returned their Thanks to the King; and now to send again, and to add any Particular to it, would

would be very incongruous and without any Precedent: And therefore They would not concur in it. This Obstinacy very much displeased the King: And He was persuaded by those who had hitherto prevailed with him, to believe that this Contradiction, if He did not master it, would run through all his Business that should be brought into that House. Whereupon his Majesty reproached many of the Lords for presuming to oppose and cross what was so absolutely necessary for his Service: And sent to the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, "that He should in his Majesty's Name command all the Bishops Bench to concur in it; and if They should refuse it, He would make them repent it;" with many other very severe Reprehensions and Animadversions. This being done in so extraordinary a Manner, the Duke of *York* told his Majesty, "how much it was spoken of and wondered at:" To which his Majesty replied, "that his Honour was engaged, and that He would not be satisfied if Thanks were not returned to him by Both Houses; and that it should go the worse for the Chancellor if his Friends opposed it." And He commanded his Royal Highness that He should not cross it, but was contented to dispense with his Attendance, and gave him Leave to be absent from the Debate; which Liberty many others likewise took: And so when it was again moved, though it still was confidently opposed, it was carried by a major Part, many being absent.

AND so Both Houses attended the King and gave him Thanks, which his Majesty graciously received as a Boon He looked for, and said Somewhat that implied that He was much displeased with the Chancellor; of which some Men thought They were to make the best Use They could. And therefore, after the King's Answer was reported to the House of Peers, as of Course whatsoever the King says upon any Message is always reported, it was reported, "that the King's Answer might be entered into the Journal-Book;" which was rejected, as not usual, even when the King

himself

himself spoke to Both Houses : Nor was what He now said entered in the House of Commons. However when They had consulted together, finding that They had not yet so particular a Record of the Displeasure against the Chancellor, as what He had said upon this Message did amount unto, They moved the House again, " that it might be entered in the Book : " And it was again rejected. All which would not serve the Turn ; but the Duke of *Buckingham* a third Time moved it, as a Thing the King expected : And thereupon it was entered.

AND his Majesty now declared to his Brother and to many of the Lords, " that He had now all He desired, and that there should be no more done to the " Chancellor." And without Doubt the King had not at this Time a Purpose to give any farther Countenance to the Animosity of his Enemies, who thought that what was already done was too easy a Composition, and told his Majesty, " that, if He were not " prosecuted farther, He would gain Reputation by " it : For that the Manner in which all Votes had been " yet carried was rather a Vindication than Censure of " him ; and He would shortly come to the House with " more Credit to do Mischief, and to obstruct what " soever related to his Service. But that such Things " would be found against him, as soon as Men were " satisfied that his Majesty had totally deserted him " (which yet They were not), that He would have no " more Credit to do Good or Harm." Hereupon there were several Cabals entered into, who invited and sent for Persons of all Conditions, who had had any Business depending before the Chancellor, or Charters passed the Seal ; and examined them whether He had not received Money from them, or They were otherwise grieved by him, promising that They should receive ample Satisfaction.

THE Duke of *Buckingham*, and some others with him, sent for Sir *Robert Harlow*, who had the Year before gone to the *Barbadoes* with the Lord *Willoughby*,
who

*Persons sought
after to furnish
Matter of
Impeachment
against him.*

who had much Friendship for him; yet after They came thither, They grew unsatisfied with each other to that Degree, that the Lord *Willoughby*, who was Governour of those Islands, removed him from the Office He had conferred on him, and sent him by the next Shipping into *England*; where He arrived full of Vexation for the Treatment He had received, and willing to embrace any Opportunity to be revenged on the Governour. Him the Duke of *Buckingham* sent for, who He knew was privy to all the Lord *Willoughby's* Counsels, and asked him, "what Money the Lord *Willoughby* had given the Chancellor for that "Government" (for it was well known that the Chancellor had been his chief Friend in procuring that Government for him, and in discountenancing and suppressing those who in *England* or in the Islands had complained of him), "and what Money He had received from those Islands; and that it was probable that He had some Influence upon the Lord *Willoughby* towards the Disgrace himself had undergone." And added, "that He would do the King a very acceptable Service, in discovering any Thing of the Chancellor's Miscarriages, of which his Majesty himself knew so much." To which the Gentleman answered, "that He had no Obligation to the Chancellor that would restrain him from declaring any Thing that might be to his Prejudice; but that He was not able to do it: Nor did He believe that He had ever received any Money from the Lord *Willoughby* or from the Islands." And this Kind of Artifice and Inquisition was used to examine all his Actions; and They who were known to be any Way offended with him, or disoblged by him, were most welcome to them.

Mr. Seymour AFTER many Days spent in such close Contrivances and Combinations, Mr. *Seymour*, a young Man of great Confidence and Boldness, stood up in the House of Commons, and spake long and with great Bitterness against the Chancellor, and "of his great Corruption " in

Mr. Seymour
accuses him of
High Treason
in the House
of Commons.

"in many Particulars, by which," He said, "He
 "had gotten a vast Estate. That He had received
 "great Sums of Money from *Ireland*, for making a
 "Settlement that every Body complained of, and that
 "left that Kingdom in as great Distraction as ever it
 "had been. That He had gotten great Sums of Mo-
 "ney indirectly and corruptly from the Plantations,
 "the Governments whereof He had disposed; by Pre-
 "ferments in the Law and in the Church; and for the
 "passing of Charters: And that He had received four
 "thousand Pounds from the *Canary* Company for the
 "establishing that Company, which was so great and
 "general a Grievance to the Kingdom. And, which
 "was above all this, that He had traiterously per-
 "suaded, or endeavoured to persuade, the King to
 "dissolve the Parliament, and to govern by a standing
 "Army; and that He had said, *that four hundred*
 "*Country Gentlemen were only fit to give Money, and did*
 "*not understand how an Invasion was to be resisted.*" He
 mentioned many other odious Particulars "which" He
 said He would prove," and therefore proposed, "that
 "They would presently send up to the Lords to accuse
 "him of High Treason, and require that his Person
 "might be secured." Some others seconded him with
 very bitter invectives: And as many gave another
 Kind of Testimony, and many Reasons which made it
 improbable that He could be guilty of so many heinous
 Crimes; and "that it would be unreasonable that He
 "should be accused of High Treason by the House,
 "before such Proofs should be presented to them of
 "Crimes, that They had Reason to believe him
 "guilty." And so after many Hours Debate, what
 They proposed for the present accusing him was re-
 jected, and a Committee appointed to consider of all
 Particulars which should be presented against him;
 "upon reporting whereof to the House, it would give
 "such farther Order as should be just."

THE confident Averment of so many Particulars,
 and the so positively naming the particular Sums of
 Money,

ney which He had received, with Circumstances not likely to be feigned; and especially the mentioning of many Things spoken in Council, “which,” They said, “would be proved by Privy Counsellors;” and other particular Advices given in private to the King himself, “which,” They implied, and confidently affirmed in private, “the King himself would acknowledge;” made that Impression upon many who had no ill Opinion of the Chancellor, and upon others who had always thought well of him, and had in Truth Kindness for him, that of Both Sorts several Messages of Advice were secretly sent to him, “that He would preserve “his Life by making an Escape, and transporting “himself into foreign Parts; for that it was not probable there could be so extreme and violent a Prosecution, if They had not such Evidence against him “as would compass their Ends.” To all which He answered, “that He would not give his Enemies “that Advantage as to fly from them: And in the “mean Time desired his Friends to retain the good “Opinion They had always had of him, until They “heard Somewhat proved that would make him unworthy of it; and then He would be well contented “They should withdraw it.” And it appeared afterwards, that though some of his good Friends had advised that He should secure himself by Flight, it proceeded from the Advertisements that They had received through other Hands, which came originally from his chiefeft Enemies, who desired that He might appear to be guilty by avoiding a Trial; and who confidently informed many Men, “that the Impeachment was ready, and had been perused by the King, “and that his Majesty had with his Hand struck out “an Article which related to the Queen’s Marriage, “and another that concerned the Marriage of the “Duke; but that there was enough left to do the Business; and that the Duke of *Buckingham* should be “made Lord High Steward for the Trial.”

*Many advise
him to make
his Escape.*

Which He refuses to do.

THESE Reports, being spread abroad, wrought The King's Declaration of the Chancellor's Innocence. upon the Duke to desire the King, "that He would let him know what He did intend; and whether He desired to have the Chancellor's Life, or that He should be condemned to perpetual Imprisonment:" To which his Majesty protested, "that He would have neither, but was well satisfied; and that He was resolved to stop all farther Prosecution against him," which his Majesty likewise said to many others. The Duke then asked the King, "whether the Chancellor had ever given him Counsel to govern by an Army, or any Thing like it; which," He said, "was so contrary to his Humour, and to the Professions which He had always made, and the Advices He had given him, that if He were guilty of it, He should doubt his Sincerity in all other Things:" To which his Majesty answered, "that He had never given him such Counsel in his Life; but, on the Contrary, his Fault was that He always insisted too much upon the Law." Whereupon his Royal Highness asked him, "whether He would give him Leave to say so to others;" and his Majesty replied, "with all his Heart."

THE Duke then told it to his Secretary Mr. *Wren*, and to many other Persons, and wished them to publish it upon any Occasion: Upon which it was spread abroad, and Mr. *Wren* informed many of the Members of the House of Commons of all that had passed between the King and the Duke in that Discourse; which so much disheartened the violent Prosecutors, that when the Committee met that was to present the Heads of a Charge against him to the House, Nobody appeared to give any Evidence, so that They adjourned without doing any Thing. Hereupon Sir *Thomas Osborne*, a Dependant and Creature of the Duke of *Buckingham*, and who had told many Persons in the Country before the Parliament met, "that the Chancellor would be accused of High Treason; and if He were not hanged, He would be hanged himself;" this Gentleman went to the

the King, and informed him what Mr. *Wren* confidently reported in all Places, “ which very much dissatisfied that Party that desired to do him Service ; “ so that They knew not how to behave themselves : ”

Which He afterwards discovered.

To which his Majesty answered, “ that *Wren* was a lying Fellow, and that He had never held any such Discourse with his Brother.” This gave them new Courage, and They resolved to call Mr. *Wren* to an Account for traducing the King. And his Majesty expostulated with the Duke for what Mr. *Wren* had so publicly discoursed : And his Highness declared, “ that Mr. *Wren* had pursued his Order, his Majesty “ having not only said all that was reported, but having given him Leave to divulge it ; ” to which the King made no other Answer, “ but that He should “ be hereafter more careful of what He said to him.”

ALL this begot new Pauses, and no Advance was made in many Days ; so that it was generally believed that there would be no farther Prosecution : But the old Argument, that They were gone too far to retire, had now more Force, because many Members of Both Houses were now joined to the Party in declaring against the Chancellor, who would think themselves to be betrayed and deserted if no more should be done against him. And hereupon the Committee was again revived, that was appointed to prepare Heads for a Charge, which sate many Days, there being little Debate upon the Matter ; for such of the Committee, who knew him well, were so well pleased to find him accused of Nothing but what all the World did believe him not guilty of, that They thought They could not do him more Right, than to suffer all that was offered to pass, since there appeared no Person that offered to make Proof of any Particular that was suggested. But three or four Members of the House brought several Papers, containing Particulars “ which,” They said, “ would be proved : ” All which They reported to the House.

THE Heads were;

I. "THAT the Chancellor had traiterously, about *Articles of the Charge against him.* the Month of June last, advised the King to dissolve the Parliament, and said *there could be no farther Use of Parliaments; that it was a foolish Constitution and not fit to govern by; and that it could not be imagined, that three or four hundred Country Gentlemen could be either prudent Men or Statesmen: And that it would be best for the King to raise a standing Army and to govern by that;* whereupon it being demanded how that Army should be maintained, He answered, *by Contribution and free Quarter, as the last King maintained his Army in the War.*"

II. "THAT He had, in the Hearing of several Persons, reported *that the King was a Papist in his Heart, or popishly affected, or had used Words to that Effect.*"

III. "THAT He had advised the King to grant a Charter to the Canary Company, for which He had received great Sums of Money."

IV. "THAT He had raised great Sums of Money by the Sale of Offices which ought not to be sold, and granted Injunctions to stop Proceedings at Law, and dissolved them afterwards for Money."

V. "THAT He had introduced an arbitrary Government into his Majesty's several Plantations, and had caused such as had complained to his Majesty and Privy Council of it to be imprisoned long for their Presumption; and that He had frustrated and rejected a Proposition that had been made for the Preservation of *Nevis and St. Christophers*, and for the reducing the *French* Plantations to his Majesty's Obedience."

VI. "THAT He had caused *Quo Warrantos* to be issued out against most Corporations in *England*, although the Charters were newly confirmed by Act of Parliament, till They paid him good Sums of Money, and then the *Quo Warrantos* were discharged."

VII. "THAT He had received great Sums of Money for the Settlement of *Ireland*."

VIII. "THAT He had deluded the King and betrayed the Nation in all foreign Treaties and Negotiations, especially concerning the late War."

IX. "THAT He had procured his Majesty's Customs to be farmed at Underrates, knowing them to be so; and caused many pretended Debts to be paid⁽⁴⁾ by his Majesty, to the Payment whereof his Majesty was not in Strictness bound; for all which He had received great Sums of Money."

X. "THAT He had received Bribes from the Company of Vintners, that They might continue the Prices of their Wines, and might be freed from the Penalties which They were liable to."

XI. "THAT He had raised in a short Time a greater Estate than could be lawfully got; and that He had gotten the Grant of several of the Crown Lands contrary to his Duty."

XII. "THAT He had advised and effected the Sale of *Dunkirk* to the *French* King, for less Money than the Ammunition, Artillery and Stores were worth."

XIII. "THAT He had caused the King's Letters under the Great Seal to one Dr. *Crowther* to be altered, and the Enrolment thereof to be rased."

XIV. "THAT He had in an arbitrary Way examined and drawn into Question divers of his Majesty's Subjects concerning their Lands and Properties, and determined thereof at the Council-Table, and stopped the Proceedings at Law, and threatened some that pleaded the Statute of 17 *Car*."

XV. "THAT He was a principal Author of that fatal Counsel of dividing the Fleet in *June* 1666."

THE Committee reported another Article for his Charge, which was, "that He had kept Correspondence with *Cromwell* during the Time of the King's being beyond the Seas, and had sent over his Secretary to him, who was shut up with him for many Hours:" But there were many Members of the

House,

House, who wished it had been true, knew well enough that foolish Calumny had been examined at *Paris* during the Time that his Majesty resided there, when Persons of the highest Degree were very desirous to have kindled a Jealousy in the King of the Chancellor's Fidelity; and that the Scandal appeared so gross and impossible, that his Majesty had then published a full Vindication of his Innocence; with a farther Declaration, "that when it should please God to restore him to his own Dominions, He should receive such farther Justice and Reparation, as the Laws would enable him to procure." And it was well known to divers of the Members present, that the Persons who were suborned in that Conspiracy had acknowledged it since the King's Return; and the Persons themselves who had suborned them had confessed it, and begged the Chancellor's Pardon: Of all which his Majesty had been particularly and fully informed. And that it might be no more ripped up or looked into, They seemed to reject it as being included under the *Act of Indemnity*, which They would have left him to have pleaded for the Infamy of it, if They had not very well known the Grossness of the Scandal.

THOUGH the Fierceness of the Malice that was contracted against him was enough known and taken Notice of, yet the Heads for the Charge, which upon so much Deliberation were prepared and offered to the House against him, were of such a Nature, that all Men present did in their own Conscience acquit him: And therefore it was generally believed the Prosecutors would rather have acquiesced with what They had done to blast his Reputation, than have proceeded farther to bring him to answer for himself. But They had gone too far to retire. And They who had first wrought upon the King, only by persuading him, "that there was so universal a Hatred against the Chancellor, that the Parliament would the first Day accuse him of High Treason; and

X 2

"that

“that the removing him from his Office was the
 “only Way to preserve him, except He would in
 “such a Conjuncture, and when He had so much
 “Need of the Parliament, sacrifice all his Interest
 “for the Protection of the Chancellor” (and this
 was the sole Motive that had prevailed with him, as
 his Majesty not only assured him the last Time He
 spake with him, with many gracious Expressions, but
 at large expressed it to very many Persons of Honour,
 who endeavoured to dissuade him from pursuing that
 Counsel, “that it was the only Expedient for the
 “Chancellor’s Preservation,” with as great a Testi-
 mony of his Integrity and the Services He had done
 him as could be given): The same Men now impor-
 tuned him “to prosecute with all his Power, and to
 “let those of his Servants, and others who regarded
 “his Commands, know that They could not serve
 “him and the Chancellor together; and that He
 “should look upon their adhering to him as the
 “abandoning his Majesty’s Service. That the Chan-
 “cellor had so great a Faction in Both Houses, that
 “no Proposition on his Majesty’s Behalf would have
 “Effect; and that He would shortly come to the
 “House of Peers, and obstruct all Proceedings
 “there.”

*The King per-
 suaded to en-
 courage the
 Prosecution.*

THIS prevailed so far that They resumed their
 former Courage, and pressed “that He might be
 “accused by the House of Commons of High Trea-
 “son: Upon which the Lords would presently com-
 “mit him to the Tower; and then Nobody would
 “have any longer Apprehension of his Power to do
 “Hurt.” Hereupon They resolved again to consider
 the several Heads of the Charge They had provided,
 to see if They could find any one upon which They
 could ground an Accusation of High Treason. They
 spent a whole Day upon the first Head, which They
 thought contained enough to do their Work, it con-
 taining the most unpopular and ungracious Reproach
 that any Man could lie under; “that He had de-

*Proceedings
 against him in
 the House of
 Commons.*

“signed

“signed a standing Army to be raised, and to govern
 “the Kingdom thereby; He advised the King to
 “dissolve the present Parliament, to lay aside all
 “Thoughts of Parliaments for the future, to govern
 “by military Power, and to maintain the same by
 “free Quarter and Contribution.”

THE Chancellor had been bred of the Gown; and in the first War, in which the last King had been involved by a powerful Rebellion, was known always to have advanced and embraced all Overtures towards Peace. Since the King's Return He laboured Nothing more, than that his Majesty might enter into a firm Peace with all his Neighbours, as most necessary for the reducing his own Dominions into that Temper of Subjection and Obedience, as they ought to be in. It was notorious to all Men, that He had most passionately dissuaded the War with *Holland*, with much Disadvantage to himself; and that no Man had taken so much Pains as He to bring the present Peace to pass, which at that Time was grateful to all Degrees of Men: And, in a Word, that He had no Manner of Interest or Credit with the Soldiers; but was looked upon by them all, as an Enemy to the Privileges which They required, of being exempted from the ordinary Rules of Justice, in which He always opposed them.

BUT let the Improbability of this Charge be what it would, there were Persons of the House who pretended that it should be fully proved; and so the Question was only, “whether upon it They should
 “charge him with an Accusation of Treason:” And after a Debate of eight Hours, it was declared by all the Lawyers of the House, “that how foul soever
 “the Charge seemed to be, yet it contained no High
 “Treason;” and in that Conclusion They at last concurred who were most relied upon to support the Accusation. But when the Speaker directed the Order to be drawn, “that the *Earl of Clarendon* should
 “not be accused of High Treason,” it was alledged
 X 3 that

that the Order was only to relate to that first Head; (4 some Men declaring, "that though that Article had "missed him, yet there were others which would hit "him:" And so the Night being come, the farther Debate was adjourned to another Day.

WHEN the Day appointed came (in which Interval all imaginable Pains and Arts were used, by Threats and Promises, to allure and terrify as many as could be wrought upon, either to be against the Chancellor, or to be absent at the next Debate that concerned him), upon reading the several other Heads as they had been presented from the Committee, it appeared to all Men, that though all that was alledged were proved, the Whole would not amount to make him guilty of High Treason. And They got no Ground by throwing Aspersions upon him upon the several Arguments, which They did with extraordinary License who were known to be his Enemies; for thereby other Men of much better Reputations, and who had no Relation to the Chancellor, took Occasion to answer and contradict their Calumnies, and to give him such a Testimony, as made him another Man than They would have him understood to be; and their Testimony had more Credit: So that They declined the Pursuit of that License, and intended wholly the Discovery of the Treason, since no other Accusation would serve their Turn.

WHEN They had examined all their Store, They pitched at last upon that Head, "that He had deluded and betrayed his Majesty and the Nation in "all foreign Treaties and Negotiations relating to "the late War:" Which when read and considered, it was said, "that in those general Expressions there "was not enough contained upon which They could "accuse him of High Treason, except it were added, that being a Privy Counsellor He had discovered the King's secret Counsels to the Enemy." Which was no sooner said, than a young confident Man,

Man, the Lord *Vaughan*, Son to the Earl of *Carbery*, a Person of as ill a Face as Fame, his Looks and his Manners Both extreme bad, asked for the Paper that had been presented from the Committee, and with his own Hand entered into that Place those Words, "that being a Privy Counsellor He had discovered "the King's Secrets to the Enemy," which He said He would prove; whilst many others whispered into the Ears of those who sat next to them, "that He "had discovered all the secret Resolutions to the King "of *France*, which," They said, "was the Ground "of the King's Displeasure towards him." Upon this confident Insinuation from Persons who were near the Person of his Majesty, and known to have much Credit with him; and the positive Averment by a Member, "that the disclosing the King's Secrets to the Enemy," which Nobody could deny to be Treason, "would be positively and fully proved "against him," and the rather because no Man believed it to be true; it was voted, "that They "should impeach him of High Treason in the usual "Manner to the House of Peers." Whereupon Mr. *Seymour*, who had appeared very violent against him, was sent up to the Lords; and at the Bar He accused *Edward Earl of Clarendon* of High Treason and other Crimes and Misdemeanors, and desired "that He "might be sequestered from that House, and his "Person secured."

Mr. Seymour accuses him of High Treason at the Bar of the House of Lords.

AND as soon as He was withdrawn, some of the Lords moved, "that He might be sent for:" And now the Warmth that had been so long within the Walls of the House of Commons appeared in the House of Peers. Many of the Lords, who were not thought much inclined to the Person of the Chancellor, represented, "that the Consequence of such "a Proceeding would reflect to the Prejudice of "every one of the Peers. If upon a general Accusation from the House of Commons of High Treason, without mentioning any Particular, They

Debates in that House concerning his Commitment.

“should be obliged to commit any Peer ; any Member that House should be offended with, how unjustly soever, might be removed from the Body : Which would be a greater Disadvantage than the Members of the House of Commons were liable to.” And therefore They advised, “that They should for Answer let the House of Commons know, that They would not commit the Earl of *Clarendon* until some particular Charge was exhibited against him.”

ON the other Side, it was urged with much Passion, “that They ought to comply with the House of Commons in satisfying their Requests, according to former Precedents :” And the Case of the Earl of *Strafford*, and some other Cases in that Parliament, were cited ; which gave those who were of another Mind Opportunity to inveigh against that Time, and the accursed Precedents thereof, which had produced so many and great Mischiefs to the Kingdom. They put them in Mind, “that They had committed eleven Bishops at one Time for High Treason, only that They might be removed from the House, whilst a Bill passed against their having Votes any more in that House, which was no sooner passed than They were set at Liberty ; which had brought great Reproach upon the Honour and Justice of the Parliament : And that Both those Bills, for the Attainder of the Earl of *Strafford* and for the excluding the Bishops out of the House of Peers, stand at present repealed by the Wisdom and Authority of this Parliament.” In a Word, after many Hours Debate with much Passion, either Side adhering obstinately to their Opinion, no Resolution was taken ; but the House adjourned, without so much as putting the Question, to the next Day.

FROM the Time of the Parliament's coming together, and after the King's Displeasure was generally taken Notice of, many of the Chancellor's Friends advised him to withdraw, and transport himself into foreign

foreign Parts; and some very near the King, and who were Witnesses of the very great Displeasure his Majesty every Day expressed towards him, were of the same Opinion: But He positively refused so to do, and resolved to trust to his Innocence, which He was sure must appear.

THE Debate continued still between the two Houses, which would entertain no other Business: ^{*Differences between the Houses.*} The House of Commons in frequent Conferences demanding the Commitment of the Chancellor; and the major Part of the House of Peers, notwithstanding all the indirect Prosecution and Interposition from the Court, remaining as resolved not to commit him. In this unhappy Conjunction, the Duke of York, who expressed great Affection and Concernment for the Chancellor, fell sick of the Smallpox; which proved of great Disadvantage to him. For not only many of the Peers who were before restrained by their Respect to him, and supported by his Countenance in the Debates, either changed their Minds, or absented themselves from the House; but the General, who had always professed great Friendship to the Chancellor, who had deserved very well from him, and had endeavoured to dissuade the King from withdrawing his Favour from him with all possible Importunity, was now changed by the unruly Humour of his Wife, and the frequent Instances of the King; and made it his Business to solicit and dispose the Members of Both Houses, with many of whom He had great Credit, "no longer to adhere to the Chancellor, since the King resolved to ruin him, and would look upon all who were his Friends as Enemies to his Majesty." Notwithstanding all which, the major Part by much of the House of Peers continued still firm against his Commitment: (4.) With which the King was so offended, that there were secret Consultations of sending a Guard of Soldiers, by the General's Authority, to take the Chancellor out of his House, and to send him to the Tower;

Tower; whither Directions were already sent what Lodging He should have, and Caution given to the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, who was thought to have too much Respect for the Chancellor, "that He should not treat him with more Civility than He did other Prisoners."

The Chancellor is again advised to withdraw.

HE had many Friends of the Council and near the King, who advertised him of those and all other Intrigues, and thereupon renewed their Importunity that He would make his Escape; and some of them undertook to know, and without Question did believe, "that his withdrawing would be grateful to the King," who every Day grew more incensed against him, for the Obstinacy his Friends in Both Houses expressed on his Behalf. They urged "the ill Condition He must in a short Time be reduced to, wherein his Innocence would not secure him; for it was evident that his Enemies had no Purpose or Thought of bringing him to a Trial, but to keep him always in Prison, which They would in the End one Way or other bring to pass: Whereas He might now easily transport himself, and avoid all the other Inconveniences." And They undertook to know, "that if He were gone, there would be no farther Proceeding against him."

But refuses.

THERE could not be a more terrifying or prevalent Argument used towards his withdrawing, than that of a Prison; the Thought and Apprehension whereof was more grievous to him than of Death itself, which He was confident would quickly be the Effect of the other. However He very resolutely refused to follow their Advice; and urged to them "the Advantage He should give his Enemies, and the Dishonour He should bring upon himself, by flying, in having his Integrity condemned, if He had not the Confidence to defend it." He said, "He could now appear, wherever He should be required, with an honest Countenance, and the Courage of an innocent Man: But if He should be apprehended in

“ a Disguise running away, which He could not but
 “ expect by the Vigilance of his Enemies (since He
 “ could not make any Journey by Land, being at
 “ that Time very weak and infirm), He should be
 “ very much out of Countenance, and should be ex-
 “ posed to publick Scorn and Contempt. And if
 “ He should make his Escape into foreign Parts,
 “ it would not be reasonable to expect or imagine
 “ that his Enemies, who had so far aliened the King’s
 “ Affection from him, and in Spite of his Innocence
 “ prevailed thus far, would want Power to prosecute
 “ the Advantage They should get by his Flight,
 “ which would be interpreted as a Confession of his
 “ Guilt; and thereupon They would procure such
 “ Proceedings in the Parliament, as might ruin both
 “ his Fortune and his Fame.”

His Friends, how unsatisfied soever with his Resolution, acquiesced for the present, after having first prevailed with him to write himself to the King; which He did, though without any Hope that it would make any Impression upon him. He could not comprehend or imagine from what Fountain, except the Power of the great Lady with the Conjunction of his known Enemies, which had been long without that Effect, that Fierceness of his Majesty’s Displeasure could proceed. He had, before this Storm fell upon him, been informed by a Person of Honour who knew the Truth of it, “ that some
 “ Persons had persuaded the King, *that the Chancellor*
 “ *had a principal Hand in the Marriage of the Duke of*
 “ *Richmond, with which his Majesty was offended*
 “ *in the highest Degree: And the Lord Berkley had*
 “ *reported it with all Confidence.*” Whereupon the Chancellor had expostulated with the Lord Berkley,
 (3) whom He knew to be his secret Enemy, though no Man made more outward Professions to him: But He denied He had reported any such Thing. And then He took Notice to the King himself of the Discourse, and desired to know, “ whether any such
 “ Story

*The King of-
fended with
him about the
Duke of
Richmond’s
Marriage.*

“ Story had been represented to his Majesty, since
 “ there was not the least Shadow of Truth in it :”
 To which the King answered with some Dryness, “ that
 “ no such Thing had been told to him.” Yet now
 He was assured, “ that that Business stuck most with
 “ his Majesty, and that from that Suggestion his Ene-
 “ mies had gotten Credit to do him the worst Offices ;
 “ and his Majesty complained much of the Insolence
 “ with which He used to treat him in the Agitation
 “ and Debate of Business, if He differed from him in
 “ Opinion.” Upon these Reasons He writ this Letter
 in his own Hand to the King, which was delivered to
 him by the Lord Keeper, who was willing to perform
 that Office. The Letter was in these Words.

“ May it please your Majesty,”

*His Letter to
 the King upon
 that Subject.*

“ I AM so broken under the daily insupportable In-
 “ stances of your Majesty’s terrible Displeasure, that I
 “ know not what to do, hardly what to wish. The
 “ Crimes which are objected against me, how passion-
 “ ately soever pursued, and with Circumstances very
 “ unusual, do not in the least Degree fright me. God
 “ knows I am innocent in every Particular as I ought
 “ to be; and I hope your Majesty knows enough of
 “ me to believe that I had never a violent Appetite for
 “ Money, that could corrupt me. But alas! your
 “ Majesty’s declared Anger and Indignation deprives
 “ me of the Comfort and Support even of my own In-
 “ nocence, and exposes me to the Rage and Fury of
 “ those who have some Excuse for being my Enemies;
 “ whom I have sometimes displeased, when (and only
 “ then) your Majesty believed them not to be your
 “ Friends. I hope They may be changed; I am sure
 “ I am not, but have the same Duty, Passion and Af-
 “ fection for you, that I had when You thought it
 “ most unquestionable, and which was and is as great
 “ as ever Man had for any mortal Creature. I should
 “ die in Peace (and truly I do heartily wish that God
 “ Almighty would free you from further Trouble, by
 “ taking

“taking me to himself), if I could know or guess at
 “the Ground of your Displeasure, which I am sure
 “must proceed from your believing, that I have said
 “or done Somewhat I have neither said nor done. If
 “it be for any Thing my Lord *Berkley* hath reported,
 “which I know He hath said to many, though being
 “charged with it by me He did as positively disclaim
 “it; I am as innocent in that whole Affair, and gave
 “no more Advice or Counsel or Countenance in it,
 “than the Child that is not born: Which your Ma-
 “jesty seemed once to believe, when I took Notice to
 “you of the Report, and when You considered how
 “totally I was a Stranger to the Persons mentioned,
 “to either of whom I never spake Word, or received
 “Message from either in my Life. And this I protest
 “to your Majesty is true, as I have Hope in Heaven:
 “And that I have never wilfully offended your Ma-
 “jesty in my Life, and do upon my Knees beg your
 “Pardon for any over-bold or saucy Expressions I have
 “ever used to you; which, being a natural Disease in
 “old Servants who have received too much Counte-
 “nance, I am sure hath always proceeded from the
 “Zeal and Warmth of the most sincere Affection and
 “Duty.”

“I HOPE your Majesty believes, that the sharp
 “Chastisement I have received from the best-natured
 “and most bountiful Master in the World, and whose
 “Kindness alone made my Condition these many Years
 “supportable, hath enough mortified me as to this
 “World; and that I have not the Presumption or the
 “Madness to imagine or desire ever to be admitted to
 “any Employment or Trust again. But I do most
 “humbly beseech your Majesty by the Memory of
 “your Father, who recommended me to you with
 “some Testimony, and by your own gracious Reflec-
 “tion upon some one Service I may have performed
 “in my Life, that hath been acceptable to you; that
 “You will by your Royal Power and Interposition put
 “a Stop to this severe Prosecution against me, and
 “that

“ that my Concernment may give no longer Interrup-
 “ tion to the great Affairs of the Kingdom; but that
 “ I may spend the small Remainder of my Life, which
 “ cannot hold long, in some Parts beyond the Seas,
 “ never to return; where I will pray for your Majesty,
 “ and never suffer the least Diminution in the Duty
 “ and Obedience of,

“ May it please your Majesty,

“ Your Majesty’s

“ From my House

“ this 16th of November.”

“ Most humble and most

“ Obedient Subject and Servant,

CLARENDON.”

THE King was in his Cabinet when the Letter was delivered to him; which as soon as He had read, He burned in a Candle that was on the Table, and only said, “ that there was Somewhat in it that He did not understand, but that He wondered that the Chancellor did not withdraw himself.” Of which the Keeper presently advertised him, with his earnest Advice that He would be gone.

The King expresses a Desire of his withdrawing

THE King’s Discourse was according to the Persons with whom He conferred. To those who were engaged in the violent Prosecution He spake with great Bitterness of him, repeating many particular Passages, in which He had shewed much Passion because his Majesty did not concur with him in what He advised. To those who He knew were his Friends He mentioned him without any Bitterness, and with some Testimony of his having served him long and usefully, and as if He had Pity and Compassion for him: Yet “ that “ He wondered that He did not absent himself, since “ it could not but be very manifest to him and to all “ his Friends, that it was not in his Majesty’s Power “ to protect him against the Prejudice that was against him in Both Houses; which,” He said, “ could not “ but be increased by the Obstruction his particular “ Concernment gave to all publick Affairs in this Con- “ juncture; in which,” He said, “ He was sure He “ would

“ would prevail at last.” All these Advertisements could not prevail over the Chancellor for the Reasons mentioned before; though He was very much afflicted at the Division between the two Houses, the evil Consequence whereof He well understood, and could have been well content that the Lords would have consented to his Imprisonment.

THE Bishop of *Hereford*, who had been very much obliged to the Chancellor, and throughout this whole Affair had behaved himself with very signal Ingratitude to him, and thereby got much Credit in the Court, went to the Bishop of *Winchester*, who was known to be a fast and unshaken Friend to the Chancellor; and made him a long Discourse of what the King had said to him, and desired him “ that He “ would go with him to his House;” which He presently did, and, leaving him in a Room, went himself to the Chancellor, and told him what had passed from the Bishop of *Hereford*, “ who was in the next Room “ to speak with him, but would not in direct Words “ to him acknowledge that He spake by the King’s “ Order or Approbation; but that He had confessed “ so much to him with many Circumstances, and that “ the Lord *Arlington* and Mr. *Coventry* had been present.” The Chancellor had no Mind to see or speak with the Bishop, who had carried himself so unworthily towards him, and might probably misreport any Thing He should say: But He was overruled by the other Bishop, and so They went Both into the next Room to him.”

The Bishop of Hereford sent to advise him to leave the Kingdom.

THE Bishop of *Hereford* in some Disorder, as a Man conscious to himself of some Want of Sincerity towards him, desired “ that He would believe that He would “ not at that Time have come to him, with whom He “ knew He was in some Umbrage, if it were not with “ a Desire to do him Service, and if He had not “ a full Authority for whatsoever He said to him.” Then He enlarged himself in Discourse more involved and perplexed without any Mention of the King, or
the

the Authority He had for what He should say; the Care to avoid which was evidently the Cause of the Want of Clearness in all He said. But the Bishop of *Winchester* supplied it by relating all that He had said to him: With which though He was not pleased, because the King and others were named, yet He did not contradict it; but said, "He did not say that He was sent by the King or spake by his Direction, only *that He could not be so mad as to interpose in such an Affair without full Authority to make good all that He should promise.*" The Sum of all was, "that if the Chancellor would withdraw himself into any Parts beyond the Seas, to prevent the Mischiefs that must befall the Kingdom by the Division and Difference between the two Houses; He would undertake upon his Salvation," which was the Expression He used more than once, "that He should not be interrupted in his Journey; and that after He should be gone, He should not be in any Degree prosecuted, or suffer in his Honour or Fortune by his Absence."

Which He refuses to do without receiving a Command from his Majesty.

THE Chancellor told him, "that He well understood what He must suffer by withdrawing himself, and so declining the Trial, in which his Innocence would secure him, and in the mean Time preserve him from being terrified with the Threats and Malice of his Enemies: However He would expose himself to that Disadvantage, if He received his Majesty's Commands to that Purpose, or if He had but a clear Evidence that his Majesty did wish it, as a Thing that He thought might advance his Service. But without that Assurance, which He might receive many Ways which could not be taken Notice of; He could not with his Honour or Discretion give his implacable Enemies that Advantage against him, when his Friends should be able to alledge Nothing in his Defence."

THE Bishop replied, "that He was not allowed to say that his Majesty required or wished it, but that He could not be so mad as to undertake what He

“ He had promised, without sufficient Warrant;” and repeated again what He had formerly said. To which the other answered, “ that the Vigilance and Power of his Enemies was well known: And that though the King might in Truth wish that He were safe on the other Side of the Sea, and give no Direction to interrupt or trouble him in his Journey; yet that it was liable to many Accidents in Respect of his Weakness and Infirmary,” which was so great at that Time, that He could not walk without being supported by one or two; so that He could not be disguised to any Body that had ever known him. Besides that the Pain He was already in, and the Season of the Year, made him apprehend, that the Gout might so seize upon him within two or three Days, that He might not be able to move: And so the Malice of those who wished his Destruction might very probably find an Opportunity, without or against the King’s Consent, to apprehend and cast him into Prison, as a Fugitive from the Hand of Justice. For the Prevention of all which, (456) which no Man could blame him for apprehending, He proposed, “ that He might have a Pass from the King, which He would not produce but in such an Exigent: And would use all the Providence He could, to proceed with that Secrecy that his Departure should not be taken Notice of; but if it were, He must not be without such a Protection, to preserve him from the present Indignities to which He must be liable, though possibly it would not protect him from the Displeasure of the Parliament.” The Bishop thought this Proposition to be reasonable, and seemed confident that He should procure the Pass: And so that Conference ended.

THE next Day the Bishop sent Word, “ that the King could not grant the Pass, because if it should be known, by what Accident soever, it would much incense the Parliament: But that He might as securely go as if He had a Pass;” which moved no farther with him, than his former Undertaking had done.

Nor could the Importunity of his Children, or the Advice of his Friends, persuade him to depart from his Resolution.

*The French
Ambassador
urges him to
retire to
France.*

ABOUT the Time of the Chancellor's Disgrace, *Monsieur Ruvigny* arrived at *London* as Envoy Extraordinary from the *French King*, and came the next Day after the Seal was taken from him. He was a Person well known in the Court, and particularly to the Chancellor, with whom He had been formerly assigned to treat upon Affairs of Moment, being of the Religion and very nearly allied to the late Earl of *Southampton*. And as these Considerations were the chief Motives that He was made Choice of for the present Employment, so the chief Part of his Instructions was to apply himself to the Chancellor, through whose Hands it was known that the whole Treaty that was now happily concluded, and all the Preliminaries with *France*, had entirely passed. When He found that the Conduct of Affairs was quite changed, and that the Chancellor came not to the Court, He knew not what to do, but immediately dispatched an Express to *France* for farther Instructions. He desired to speak with the Chancellor; which He refused, and likewise to receive the Letters which He had brought for him and offered to send to him, all which He desired might be delivered to the King. When the Proceedings in Parliament went so high, *Ruvigny*, who had at all Hours Admission to the King, and intimate Conversation with the Lord *Arlington*, and so easily discovered the extreme Prejudice and Malice that was contracted against the Chancellor, sent him frequent Advertisements of what was necessary for him to know, and with all possible Earnestness advised him, when the Divisions grew so high in the Houses, "that He would withdraw and retire into *France*, where" He assured him "He would find
"himself very welcome." All which prevailed no more with him than the rest. And so another Week passed after the Bishop's Proposition, with the same Passion in the Houses: And Endeavours were used to

*Which He
declines.*

incense the People, as if the Lords obstructed the Proceeding of Justice against the Chancellor by refusing to commit him; and Mr. *Seymour* told the Lord *Ashley*, "that the People would pull down the Chancellor's House first, and then those of all the Lords who adhered to him."

By this Time the Duke of *York* recovered so fast, At length the King sends to him to withdraw. that the King, being assured by the Physicians that there would be no Danger of Infection, went on Saturday Morning, the twenty-ninth of *November*, to visit him: And being alone together, his Majesty bade him "advise the Chancellor to be gone," and blamed him that He had not given Credit to what the Bishop of *Hereford* had said to him. The King had no sooner left the Duke, but his Highness sent for the Bishop of *Winchester*, and bade him tell the Chancellor from him, "that it was absolutely necessary for him (457) "speedily to be gone, and that He had the King's "Word for all that had been undertaken by the Bishop of *Hereford*."

As soon as the Chancellor received this Advice and Command, He resolved with great Reluctancy to He unwillingly obeys, and leaves the Kingdom. obey, and to be gone that very Night: And having, by the Friendship of Sir *John Wolstenholme*, caused the Farmers Boat to wait for him at *Erith*, as soon as it was dark He took Coach at his House Saturday Night, the twenty-ninth of *November* 1667, with two Servants only. And being accompanied with his two Sons and two or three other Friends on Horseback as far as *Erith*, He found the Boat ready; and so embarked about Eleven of the Clock that Night, the Wind indifferently good: But before Midnight it changed, and carried him back almost as far as He had advanced. And in this Perplexity He remained three Days and Nights before He arrived at *Calais*, which He lands at Calais. was not a Port chosen by him, all Places out of *England* being indifferent, and *France* not being in his Inclination, because of the Reproach and Calumny that was cast upon him: But since it was the first that offered

itself, and it was not seasonable to affect another, He was very glad to disembark there, and to find himself safe on Shore.

ALL these Particulars, of which many may seem too trivial to be remembered, have been thought necessary to be related, it being a principal Part of his Vindication for going away, and not insisting upon his Innocence; which at that Time made a greater Impression upon many worthy Persons to his Disadvantage, than any Particular that was contained in the Charge that had been offered to the House. And therefore though He forbore, when all the Promises were broken which had been made to him, and his Enemies Malice and Insolence increased by his Absence, to publish or in the least Degree to communicate the true Ground and Reasons of absenting himself, to avoid any Inconvenience that in so captious a Season might thereby have befallen the King's Service; yet it cannot be thought unreasonable to preserve this Memorial of all the Circumstances, as well as the substantial Reasons, which disposed him to make that Flight, for the clear Information of those, who in a fit Season may understand his Innocence without any Inconvenience to his Majesty, of whose Goodness and Honour and Justice it may be hoped, that his Majesty himself will give his own Testimony, both of this Particular of his withdrawing, and a Vindication of his Innocence from all the other Reproaches with which it was aspersed.

*An Instance of
his generous
Behaviour to
his Enemies.*

I WILL not omit one other Particular, for the Manifestation of the Inequality that was between the Nature of the Chancellor and of his Enemies, and upon what Disadvantage He was to contend with them. Before the Meeting of the Parliament, when it was well known that the Combination was entered into by the Lord *Arlington* and Sir *William Coventry* against the Chancellor, several Members of the House informed him of what They did and what They said, and told him, "that there was but one Way to prevent the
" Prejudice intended towards him, which was by fall-
" ing

“ ing first upon them ; which They would cause to be
 “ done, if He would assist them with such Informa-
 “ tion as it could not but be in his Power to do. That
 “ They were Both very odious generally : The one for
 “ his insolent Carriage towards all Men, and for the
 “ Manner of his getting into that Office by dispossess-
 “ ing an old faithful Servant, who was forced to part
 “ with it for a very good Recompense of ten thousand
 “ Pounds in Money and other Releases and Grants,
 “ which was paid and made by the King to introduce
 “ a Secretary of very mean Parts, and without Industry
 “ to improve them, and one who was generally sus-
 (458) “ pected to be a Papist, or without any Religion at
 “ all ; it being generally taken Notice of, that He was
 “ rarely seen in a Church, and never known to receive
 “ the Communion. The other was known by his cor-
 “ rupt Behaviour, and selling all the Offices in the
 “ Fleet and Navy for incredible Sums of Money, and
 “ thereby introducing Men, who had been most em-
 “ ployed and trusted by *Cromwell*, into the several Of-
 “ fices ; whilst loyal and faithful Seamen who had al-
 “ ways adhered to the King, and many of them con-
 “ tinued in his Service abroad and till his Return into
 “ *England*, could not be admitted into any Employ-
 “ ment : The ill Consequence of which to the King’s
 “ Service was very notorious, by the daily manifest
 “ stealing and embezzling the Stores of Ammunition,
 “ Cordage, Sails, and other Tackling, which were
 “ commonly sold again to the King at great Prices.
 “ And when the Persons guilty of this were taken No-
 “ tice of and apprehended, They talked loudly of the
 “ Sums They had paid for their Offices, which obliged
 “ them to those Frauds : And that it might not be
 “ more notorious, They were, by Sir *William Coven-*
 “ *try’s* great Power and Interest, never proceeded
 “ against, or removed from their Offices and Employ-
 “ ments.”

THEY told him, “ that He never said or did any
 “ Thing in the most secret Council, where They two

“ were always present, and where there were frequent
 “ Occasions of mentioning the Proceedings of Both
 “ Houses, and the Behaviour of several Members in
 “ Both, but those Gentlemen declared the same, and
 “ all that He said or did, to those who would be most
 “ offended and incensed by it, and who were like in
 “ some Conjecture to be able to do him most Mis-
 “ chief: And by those ill Arts They had irreconciled
 “ many Persons to him. And that if He would now,
 “ without its being possible to be taken Notice of, give
 “ them such Information and Light into the Proceed-
 “ ings of those Gentlemen, They would undertake to
 “ divert the Storm that threatened him, and cause it
 “ to fall upon the others.” And this was with much
 Earnestness pressed to him, not only before the Meet-
 ing of the Parliament, and when He was fully in-
 formed of the ill Arts and ungentlemanly Practice those
 two Persons were engaged in to do him Hurt, but after
 the House of Commons was incensed against him;
 with a full Assurance, “ that They were much inclined
 “ to have accused the other two, if the least Occasion
 “ was given for it.”

BUT the Chancellor would not be prevailed with,
 saying, “ that no Provocation or Example should dis-
 “ pose him to do any Thing that would not become
 “ him: That They were Both Privy Counsellors, and
 “ trusted by the King in his most weighty Affairs; and if
 “ He discerned any Thing amiss in them He could in-
 “ form the King of it. But the aspersing or accusing
 “ them any where else was not his Part to do, nor could
 “ it be done by any without some Reflection upon the
 “ King and Duke, who would be much offended at it:
 “ And therefore He advised them in no Degree to
 “ make any such Attempt on his Behalf; but to leave
 “ him to the Protection of his own Innocence and of
 “ God’s good Pleasure, and those Gentlemen to their
 “ own Fate, which at some Time would humble them.”
 And it is known to many Persons, and possibly to the
 King himself, for whose Service only that Office was
 performed,

performed, that one or Both those Persons had before that Time been impeached, if the Chancellor's sole Industry and Interest had not diverted and prevented it.

WHEN the Chancellor found it necessary, for the Reasons aforesaid, to withdraw himself, He thought it as necessary to leave some Address to the House of Peers, and to make as good an Excuse as He could (459) for his Absence without asking their Leave; which should be delivered to them by some Member of their Body (there being many of them ready to perform that civil Office for him), when his Absence should be known, or some Evidence that He was safely arrived on the other Side of the Sea. And that Time being come (for the Packet Boat was ready to depart when the Chancellor landed at *Calais*), the Earl of *Denbigh* said, "He had an Address to the House from the " Earl of *Clarendon*, which He desired might be read;" which contained these Words.

To the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled; the humble Petition and Address of Edward Earl of Clarendon.

The Chancellor's Apology to the House of Lords for withdrawing

" May it please your Lordships,"

" I CANNOT express the insupportable Trouble and Grief of Mind I sustain, under the Apprehension of being misrepresented to your Lordships; and when I hear how much of your Lordships Time hath been spent upon my poor Concern (though it be of no less than of my Life and Fortune), and of the Differences in Opinion which have already or may probably arise between your Lordships and the honourable House of Commons; whereby the great and weighty Affairs of the Kingdom may be obstructed in a Time of so general a Dissatisfaction."

" I AM very unfortunate to find myself to suffer so much under two very disadvantageous Reflections, which are in no Degree applicable to me: The first, from the Greatness of my Estate and Fortune, collected and

“made in so few Years; which, if it be proportion-
 “able to what is reported, may very reasonably cause
 “my Integrity to be suspected. The second, that I
 “have been the sole Manager and chief Minister in
 “all the Transactions of State since the King’s Return
 “into *England* to *August* last; and therefore that all
 “Miscarriages and Misfortunes ought to be imputed
 “to me, and to my Counsels.”

“CONCERNING my Estate, your Lordships will not
 “believe, that after Malice and Envy hath been so
 “inquisitive, and is so sharp sighted, I will offer any
 “Thing to your Lordships but what is exactly true:
 “And I do assure your Lordships in the first Place,
 “that, excepting from the King’s Bounty, I have ne-
 “ver received or taken one Penny, but what was ge-
 “nerally understood to be the just and lawful Perqui-
 “sites of my Office by the constant Practice of the
 “best Times, which I did in my own Judgment con-
 “ceive to be that of my Lord *Coventry* and my Lord
 “*Ellesmere*, the Practice of which I constantly ob-
 “served; although the Office in Both their Times was
 “lawfully worth double to what it was to me, and I
 “believe now is.”

“THAT all the Courtesies and Favours, which
 “I have been able to obtain from the King for
 “other Persons in Church or State or in *Westminster-*
 “*Hall*, have never been worth me five Pound: So that
 “your Lordships may be confident I am as innocent
 “from Corruption, as from any disloyal Thought;
 “which, after near thirty Years Service of the Crown
 “in some Difficulties and Distresses, I did never sus-
 “pect would have been objected to me in my Age.”

“THAT I am at present indebted about three or four
 “and twenty thousand Pounds, for which I pay Inter-
 “est; the Particulars whereof I shall be ready to offer
 “to your Lordships, and for which I have assigned
 “Lands and Leases to be sold, though at present No-
 “body will buy or sell with me. That I am so far
 “from having Money, that from the Time the Seal was
 “taken

“ taken from me I have lived upon the coining some
“ small Parcels of Plate, which have sustained me and
“ my Family, all my Rents being withheld from me.”

“ THAT my Estate, my Debts being paid, will not
“ yield me two thousand Pounds *per Annum*, for the
“ Support of myself, and providing for two young
“ Children, who have Nothing : And that all I have
“ is not worth what the King in his Bounty hath be-
“ stowed upon me, his Majesty having out of his
“ Royal Bounty, within few Months after his coming
“ into *England*, at one Time bestowed upon me twenty
“ thousand Pounds in ready Money, without the least
“ Motion or Imagination of mine; and, shortly after,
“ another Sum of Money, amounting to six thousand
“ Pounds or thereabouts, out of *Ireland*, which ought
“ to have amounted to a much greater Proportion, and
“ of which I never heard Word, till Notice was given
“ me by the Earl of *Orrery* that there was such a Sum
“ of Money for me. His Majesty likewise assigned
“ me after the first Year of his Return an annual Sup-
“ ply towards my Support, which did but de-
“ fray my Expences, the certain Profits of my Of-
“ fice not amounting to above two thousand Pounds a
“ Year or thereabouts, and the Perquisites not very
“ considerable and very uncertain : So that the said fe-
“ veral Sums of Money, and some Parcels of Land
“ his Majesty bestowed upon me, are worth more than
“ all I have amounts to. So far I am from advancing
“ my Estate by any indirect Means. And though this
“ Bounty of his Majesty hath very far exceeded my
“ Merit or my Expectation ; yet some others have been
“ as fortunate at least in the same Bounty, who had as
“ small Pretences to it, and have no great Reason to
“ envy my good Fortune.”

“ CONCERNING the other Imputation, of the Credit
“ and Power of being chief Minister, and so causing all
“ to be done that I had a Mind to ; I have no more to
“ say, than that I had the good Fortune to serve a
“ Master of a very great Judgment and Understand-
“ ing,

“ing, and to be always joined with Persons of great
 “Ability and Experience, without whose Advice and
 “Concurrence never any Thing hath been done. Be-
 “fore his Majesty’s coming into *England*, He was
 “constantly attended by the then Marquis of *Ormond*,
 “the late Lord *Colepepper*, and Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*;
 “who were equally trusted with myself, and without
 “whose joint Advice and Concurrence, when They
 “were all present (as some of them always were), I
 “never gave any Counsel.”

“As soon as it pleased God to bring his Majesty
 “into *England*, He established his Privy Council, and
 “shortly out of them a Number of honourable Per-
 “sons of great Reputation, who for the most Part are
 “still alive, as a Committee for foreign Affairs, and
 “Consideration of such Things as in the Nature of
 “them required much Secrecy; and with these Per-
 “sons He vouchsafed to join me. And I am confi-
 “dent this Committee never transacted any Thing of
 “Moment, his Majesty being always present, without
 “presenting the same first to the Council-Board: And
 “I must appeal to them concerning my Carriage, and
 “whether We were not all of one Mind in all Matters
 “of Importance. For more than two Years I never
 “knew any Difference in the Councils, or that there
 “were any Complaints in the Kingdom; which I
 “wholly impute to his Majesty’s great Wisdom, and
 “the entire Concurrence of his Council, without the
 “Vanity of assuming any Thing to myself: And
 “therefore I hope I shall not be singly charged with
 “any Thing that hath since fallen out amiss. But
 “from the Time that Mr. Secretary *Nicholas* was re-
 “moved from his Place, there were great Alterations;
 “and whosoever knows any Thing of the Court or
 “Councils, knows well how much my Credit since that
 “Time hath been diminished, though his Majesty
 “graciously vouchsafed still to hear my Advice in
 “most of his Affairs. Nor hath there been, from
 “that Time to this, above one or two Persons brought
 “to

“to the Council, or preferred to any considerable Of-
 “fice in the Court, who have been of my intimate
 “Acquaintance, or suspected to have any Kindness for
 “me; and many of them notoriously known to have
 “been very long my Enemies, and of different Judg-
 “ment and Principles from me both in Church and
 “State, and who have taken all Opportunities to
 “lessen my Credit to the King, and with all other
 “Persons, by misrepresenting and misreporting all that
 “I said or did, and persuading Men that I had done
 “them some Prejudice with his Majesty, or crossed
 “them in some of their Pretences; though his Maje-
 “sty’s Goodness and Justice was such, that it made
 “little Impression upon him.”

“In my humble Opinion, the great Misfortunes of
 “the Kingdom have proceeded from the War, to
 “which it is notoriously known that I was always
 “averse; and may without Vanity say, I did not only
 “foresee but did declare the Mischiefs We should run
 “into, by entering into a War before any Alliance
 “made with the neighbour Princes. And that it may
 “not be imputed to his Majesty’s Want of Care, or
 “the Negligence of his Counsellors, that no such Al-
 “liances were entered into; I must take the Boldness
 “to say, that his Majesty left Nothing unattempted in
 “Order thereunto: And knowing very well, that
 “*France* resolved to begin a War upon *Spain*, as soon
 “as his *Catholick* Majesty should depart this World
 “(which being much sooner expected by them, They
 “had two Winters before been at great Charge in
 “providing plentiful Magazines of all Provisions upon
 “the Frontiers, that They might be ready for the
 “War), his Majesty used all possible Means to prepare
 “and dispose the *Spaniard* to that Apprehension, of-
 “fering his Friendship to that Degree, as might be
 “for the Security and Benefit of Both Crowns. But
 “*Spain* flattering itself with an Opinion that *France*
 “would not break with them, at least, that They
 “would not give them any Cause by administering
 “Matter

“ Matter of Jealousy to them, never made any real
 “ Approach towards a Friendship with his Majesty;
 “ but both by their Ambassadour here, and to his
 “ Majesty’s Ambassadour in *Madrid*, always insisted,
 “ as Preliminaries, upon the giving up of *Dunkirk*,
 “ *Tangier*, and *Jamaica*.”

“ THOUGH *France* had an Ambassadour here, to
 “ whom a Project for a Treaty was offered, and the
 “ Lord *Hollis*, his Majesty’s Ambassadour at *Paris*,
 “ used all Endeavours to promote and prosecute the
 “ said Treaty: yet it was quickly discerned, that the
 “ principal Design of *France* was to draw his Ma-
 “ jesty into such a nearer Alliance as might ad-
 “ vance their Designs; without which They had no
 “ Mind to enter into the Treaty proposed. And this
 “ was the State of Affairs when the War was entered
 “ into with the *Dutch*, from which Time neither Crown
 “ much considered their making an Alliance with
 “ *England*.”

“ As I did from my Soul abhor the entering into
 “ this War, so I never presumed to give any Advice
 “ or Counsel for the Way of managing it, but by op-
 “ posing many Propositions which seemed to the late
 “ Lord Treasurer and myself to be unreasonable, as
 “ the Payment of the Seamen by Tickets, and many
 “ other Particulars which added to the Expence. My
 “ Enemies took all Occasions to inveigh against me:
 “ And making Friendship with others out of the
 “ Council of more licentious Principles, and who
 “ knew well enough how much I disliked and com-
 “ plained of the Liberty They took to themselves of
 “ reviling all Councils and Counsellors, and turning
 “ all Things serious and sacred into Ridicule: They
 “ took all Ways imaginable to render me ingrateful to
 “ all Sorts of Men (whom I shall be compelled to
 “ name in my own Defence), persuading those who
 “ miscarried in any of their Designs, that it was the
 “ Chancellor’s doing; whereof I never knew any
 “ Thing. However They could not withdraw the
 “ King’s

“ King’s Favour from me, who was still pleased to
“ use my Service with others; nor was there ever any
“ Thing done but upon the joint Advice of at least
“ the major Part of those who were consulted with.
“ And as his Majesty commanded my Service in the
“ late Treaties, so I never gave the least Advice in
“ private, nor writ one Letter to any Person in either
“ of those Negotiations, but upon the Advice of the
“ Council, and after it was read in Council, or at least
“ by the King himself and some others: And if I pre-
“ pared any Instructions or Memorials, it was by the
“ King’s Command, and the Request of the Secretaries,
“ who desired my Assistance. Nor was it any Wish
“ of my own, that any Ambassadors should give me
“ an Account of the Transactions, but to the Secre-
“ taries, with whom I was always ready to advise; nor
“ am I conscious to myself of having ever given Ad-
“ vice that hath proved mischievous or inconvenient to
“ his Majesty. And I have been so far from being
“ the sole Manager of Affairs, that I have not in the
“ whole last Year been above twice with his Majesty
“ in any Room alone, and very seldom in the two or
“ three Years preceding. And since the Parliament
“ at *Oxford*, it hath been very visible that my Credit
“ hath been very little, and that very few Things have
“ been hearkened to which have been proposed by me,
“ but contradicted *eo Nomine*, because proposed by me.”

“ I most humbly beseech your Lordships to re-
“ member the Office and Trust I had for seven Years;
“ in which, in Discharge of my Duty, I was obliged
“ to stop and obstruct many Mens Pretences, and to
“ refuse to set the Seal to many Pardons and other
“ Grants, which would have been profitable to those
“ who procured them, and many whereof, upon my
“ Representation to his Majesty, were for ever stop-
“ ped; which naturally have raised many Enemies to
“ me. And my frequent concurring with the late
“ Lord Treasurer, with whom I had the Honour to
“ have a long and a fast Friendship to his Death, in re-
“ presenting

“ presenting several Excesses and Exorbitances (the
 “ yearly Issues so far exceeding the Revenue), provoked
 “ many Persons concerned, of great Power and Cre-
 “ dit, to do me all the ill Offices They could. And
 “ yet I may faithfully say, that I never meddled with
 “ any Part of the Revenue or the Administration of
 “ it, but when I was desired by the late Lord Treas-
 “ urer to give him my Assistance and Advice (having
 “ had the Honour formerly to serve the Crown as
 “ Chancellor of the Exchequer), which was for the
 “ most Part in his Majesty’s Presence: Nor have I
 “ ever been in the least Degree concerned in Point of
 “ Profit in the letting any Part of his Majesty’s Reve-
 “ nue, nor have ever treated or debated it but in his
 “ Majesty’s Presence; in which, my Opinion con-
 “ curred always with the major Part of the Counsellors
 “ who were present. All which, upon Examination;
 “ will be made manifest to your Lordships, how much
 “ soever my Integrity is blasted by the Malice of those,
 “ who I am confident do not believe themselves. Nor
 “ have I in my Life, upon all the Treaties or other-
 “ wise, received the Value of one Shilling from all the
 “ Kings and Princes in the World (except the Books
 “ of the *Louvre* Print sent me by the Chancellor of
 “ *France* by that King’s Direction), but from my own
 “ Master; to whose entire Service, and to the Good
 “ and Welfare of my Country, no Man’s Heart was
 “ ever more devoted.”

“ THIS being my present Condition, I do most
 “ humbly beseech your Lordships to retain a favour-
 “ able Opinion of me, and to believe me to be inno-
 “ cent from those foul Aspersions, until the Contrary
 “ shall be proved; which I am sure can never be by
 “ any Man worthy to be believed. And since the
 “ Distemper of the Time, and the Difference between
 “ the two Houses in the present Debate, with the
 “ Power and Malice of my Enemies, who give out,
 “ that I shall prevail with his Majesty to prorogue or
 “ dissolve this Parliament in Displeasure, and threaten

“ to

“to expose me to the Rage and Fury of the People,
“may make me looked upon as the Cause which ob-
“structs the King’s Service, and the Unity and Peace
“of the Kingdom; I must humbly beseech your
“Lordships, that I may not forfeit your Lordship’s
“Favour and Protection, by withdrawing myself from
“so powerful a Persecution; in Hopes I may be able,
“by such withdrawing, hereafter to appear, and make
“my Defence; when his Majesty’s Justice, to which
“I shall always submit, may not be obstructed nor
“controlled by the Power and Malice of those who
“have sworn my Destruction.”

THE Chancellor knew very well, that there were Members enough in Both Houses who would be very glad to take any Advantage of his Words and Expressions: And therefore as He weighed them the best He could himself in the short Time from which He took his Resolution to be gone; so He consulted with as many Friends as that Time would allow, to the End that their Jealousy and Wariness might better watch, that no Expression might be liable to a sinister Interpretation, than his own Passion and Indisposition could provide. And as They all thought it necessary that He should leave Somewhat behind him, that might offer an Excuse for his Absence; so They did not conceive, that the Words before mentioned could give any Offence to equal Judges. But the least Variety or Change of Wind moved those Waters to wonderful Distempers and Tempests.

THIS Address was no sooner read, by which They perceived He was gone, but They who had contributed most to the absenting himself, and were privy to all the Promises which had invited him to it, seemed much troubled that He had escaped their Justice; and moved, “that Orders might be forthwith sent to stop
“the Ports, that so He might be apprehended;”
when They well knew that He was landed at *Calais*. Others took Exceptions at some Expressions, “which,”
They

They said, “reflected upon the King’s Honour and Justice:” Others moved, “that it might be entered in their Journal-Book, to the End that They might farther consider of it when They should think fit;” and this was ordered.

THE Houses till this Time had continued obstinate in their several Resolutions; the Commons every Day pressing, “that He might be committed upon their “general Accusation of Treason” (for though They had amongst themselves and from their Committee offered those Particulars which are mentioned before, yet They presented none to the House of Peers); and the Lords as positively refusing to commit him, till some Charge should be presented against him that amounted to Treason. But now all that Debate was at an End by his being out of their Reach, so that They pursued that Point no farther; which, being Matter of Privilege, should have been determined as necessarily as before, for the Prevention of the like Disputes hereafter. But the Commons wisely declined that Contention, well knowing that their Party in the House, that was very passionate for the Commitment of the Chancellor, would be as much against the general Order as any of the rest had been: And the Lords satisfied themselves with sending a Message to the House of Commons, “that They “found by the Address which They had received that “Morning, and which They likewise imparted to “them, that the Earl of *Clarendon* had withdrawn “himself; and so there was no farther Occasion of “Debate upon that Point.”

*The Apology
Entered by Or-
der of Both
Houses.*

THE Address was no sooner read in that House, but They who had industriously promoted the former Resolution were inflamed, as if this very Instrument would contribute enough to any Thing that was wanting; and They severally arraigned it, and inveighed against the Person who had sent it with all imaginable Bitterness and Insolence: Whilst others, who could not in the hearing it read observe that Maliginity that

that it was accused of, sate still and silent, as if They suspected that Somewhat had escaped their Observations and Discovery, that so much transported other Men; or because They were well pleased that a Person, against whom there was so much Malice and Fury professed, was got out of their Reach. In Conclusion, after long Debate it was concluded, "that the Paper contained much Untruth and Scandal and Sedition in it, and that it should be publicly burned by the Hand of the Hangman;" which Vote They presently sent to the Lords for their Concurrence, who, though They had not observed any such Guilt in it before, would maintain no further Conteſts with them, and so concurred in the Sentence: And the poor Paper was accordingly with Solemnity executed by the appointed Officer, which made the more People inquisitive into the Contents of it; and having gotten Copies of it, They took upon them to censure the Thing and the Person with much more Clemency and Compassion, and thought He had done well to decline such angry Judges.

WHEN the Chancellor found himself at *Calais*, He was unresolved how to dispose of himself, only that He would not go to *Paris*, against which He was able to make many Objections: And in this Irresolution He knew not how to send any Directions to his Children in *England*, to what Place They should send his Servants and such other Accommodations as He should want; and therefore stayed there till He might be better informed, and know Somewhat of the Temper of the Parliament. In the mean Time He writ Letters to the Earl of *St. Albans* at *Paris*, from whose very late Professions He had Reason to expect Civility, and that was all He did expect; never imagining that He should receive any Grace from the Queen, or that it was fit for him to cast himself at her Feet, whilst He was in his Majesty's Displeasure. Only He desired to know, "whether there would be any Objection against his coming to *Roan*," and desiring, "if there were

The Chancellor writes to the French Court for Leave to remove to Roan.

“no Objection against it, that a Coach might be hired to meet him on such a Day at *Abbeville*.” The Lieutenant Governor of *Calais* had, upon his first Arrival there, given Advertisment to the Court of it: And by the same Post that He received a very dry Letter from the Earl of *St. Albans*, in which He said, “He thought that Court would approve of his coming to *Roan*,” He received likewise a Letter of great Civility from the Count *De Louvois*, Secretary of State, in which He congratulated his safe Arrival in *France*, and told him, “that his Majesty was well pleased with it, and with his Purpose of coming to *Roan*, where He should find himself very welcome.” At the same Time Letters were sent to the Lieutenant Governour of *Calais*, *Boulogne*, and *Montrevil*, “to treat him as a Person of whom the King had Esteem, and to give him such an Escorte as might make his Journey secure;” of all which He received Advertisment, and, “that a Coach would be ready at *Abbeville* to wait for him at the Day He had appointed.”

Which is granted.

He begins his Journey.

AND now He thought He might well take this Resolution; and thereupon gave Direction, “that such of his Family, whose Attendance He could not be well without, might with all Expedition be with him at *Roan*; and such Monies might be likewise returned thither for him, as were necessary,” for He had not brought with him Supply enough for long Time. And so He provided to leave *Calais*, that He might be warm in his Winter-Quarters as soon as might be, which both the Season of the Year, it being now within few Days of *Christmas*, and his Expectation of a speedy Defluxion of the Gout, made very requisite. When He came to *Boulogne*, He found Orders from the Marshal *D’Aumont* to his Lieutenant for a Guard to *Montrevil*, the Spanish Garrisons making frequent Incurfions into those Quarters: And at *Montrevil* the Duke *D’Elbocuf* visited him, and invited him to Supper, which the Chancellor was so much tired with his Journey that He accepted not; but was not suffered

suffered to refuse his Coach the next Day to *Abbeville*, where He found a Coach from *Paris* ready to carry him to *Roan*.

It was *Christmas* Eve when He came to *Dieppe*, and it was a long Journey the next Day to *Roan*; which made him send to the Governour, to desire that the Ports might be open much sooner than their Hour, which was granted: So that He came to a very ill Inn well known at *Toftes*, near the middle Way to *Roan*, about Noon. And when He was within View of that Place, a Gentleman, passing by in a good Gallop with a Couple of Servants, asked, "whether the Chancellor of *England* was in that Coach;" and being answered, "that He was," He alighted at the Coach-Side, and gave him a Letter from the King, which contained only Credit to what that Gentleman, *Monsieur Le Fonde*, his Servant in Ordinary, should say to him from his Majesty. The Gentleman, after some Expressions of his Majesty's Grace and good Opinion, told him, "that the King had lately received Advertisement from But receives on the Way Orders to his Envoy in *England*, that the Parliament there was if leave France instantly. was so much incensed against him, the Chancellor, that if He should be suffered to stay in France, it would be so prejudicial to the Affairs of his Christian Majesty (to whom He was confident the Chancellor wished well), that it might make a Breach between the two Crowns: And therefore He desired him to make what Speed He could out of his Dominions; and that He might want no Accommodation for his Journey, that Gentleman was to accompany him till He saw him out of France."

He was marvellously struck with this Encounter, which He looked not for, nor could resolve what to do, being at Liberty to make his Journey which Way He would so He rested not, which was the only Thing He desired: So He desired the Gentleman (for all his Conversation was in the Highway) "to come into the Coach, and to accompany him to *Roan*, where They would confer farther." The Gentleman, though

He was a very civil Person, seemed to think that it would be better to return to *Dieppe*, and so to *Calais*, as the shortest Way out of *France*: But He had no Commission to urge that, and so condescended to go that Night to *Roan*; with a Declaration, “that it was necessary for him to be the next Day very early in the Coach, which Way soever He intended to make his Journey.”

It was late in the Night before They reached *Roan*: And the Coach was overthrown three Times in the Gentleman’s Sight, who chose to ride his Horse; so that the Chancellor was really hurt and bruised, and scarce able to set his Foot to the Ground. And therefore He told the Gentleman plainly, “that He could not make any Journey the next Day: But that He would presently write to *Paris* to a Friend, who should inform the King of the ill Condition He was in, and desire some Time of Rest; and that as soon as He had finished his Letter, He would send an Express with it, who should make all possible Haste in going and coming.” *Monsieur Le Fonde* assured him, “the Matter was so fully resolved, that no Writing would procure any Time to stay in *France*; and therefore desired him to hasten his Journey, which Way soever He intended it.” But when He saw there was no Remedy, He likewise writ to the Court, and the Chancellor to the Earl of *St. Albans*, from whom He thought He should receive Offices of Humanity, and to another Friend, upon whose Affection He more depended: And with those Letters the Express was dispatched.

*He represents
his ill State of
Health to the
Court.*

*The Occasion
of his ill
Treatment in
France.*

THEY who had prevailed so far against him in *England* were not yet satisfied, but contrived those Ways to disquiet him as much in *France*, by telling *Monsieur Ruvigny* (who was too easily disposed to believe them), “that the Parliament was so much offended with the Chancellor, that it would never consent that the King should enter into a close and firm Alliance with *France*,” which it was his Business to solicit, “whilst
“He

“He should be permitted to stay within that Kingdom :” When in Truth all the Malice against him was contained within the Breasts of few Men, who by incensing the King, and infusing many false and groundless Relations into him, drew such a numerous Party to contribute to their Ends.

WHEN He was now gone, They observed to the King, ^{*Proceedings*} “what a great Faction there was in Both Houses that ^{*against him*} “adhered to the Chancellor,” who were called *Clarendonians* ^{*in England.*}; and when any Opposition was made to any Thing that was proposed, as frequently there was, “it was “always done by the *Clarendonians* :” Whose Condition They thought was not desperate enough, except They proceeded farther than was yet done. They laboured with all their Power, that He might be attainted of High Treason by Act of Parliament, and that Both his Sons might be removed from the Court : Both which, notwithstanding all their Importunity, his Majesty positively refused to consent to. Then They told him, “that the Chancellor only waited the Season that the “Parliament should be confirmed in ill Humour, to “which They were inclined ; and then He would return and sit in the House to disturb all their Counsels, and obstruct all his Service : And therefore “They proposed, since He had fled from the Hand “of Justice, that there could be no more Prosecution “for his Guilt” (which was untrue, for They might as well have proceeded and proved the Crimes objected against him if They could), “a Bill of Banishment,” which They had prepared, “might be “brought in against him ;” which his Majesty consented to, notwithstanding all that the Duke of York urged to the Contrary upon the King’s Promise to him, and which had only betrayed the Chancellor to making his Escape. But the King alledged, “that the Condescension was necessary for his Good, and to compound with those who would else press that which “would be more mischievous to him.”

A Bill of Banishment passed against him.

WHEREUPON a Bill for his Banishment was preferred, only upon his having declined the Proceeding of Justice by his Flight, without so much as endeavouring to prove one of the Crimes They had charged upon him: And this Bill was passed by the two Houses, and confirmed by the King; of whom They had yet so much Jealousy, that They left it not in his Power to pardon him without the Consent of the two Houses of Parliament. And this Act was to be absolute, “except by a Day appointed” (which was so short, that it was hardly possible for him to comply with it, except He could have rode Post) “He should appear before one of the Secretaries of State, or deliver himself to the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, who was to detain him in Custody till He had acquainted the Parliament with it: In the mean Time no Person was to presume to hold any Correspondence with him or to write to him, except his own Children or his menial Servants, who were obliged to shew the Letters which They sent or received to one of the Secretaries of State.”

He receives Orders a second Time to quit France.

THE Express that had been sent to *Paris* returned with reiterated Orders to *Monsieur Le Fonde* to hasten the Chancellor's Journey, and not to suffer him to remain there; who executed the Commands He had received with great Punctuality and Importunity. The Earl of *St. Albans* did not vouchsafe to return any Answer to his Letter, or to interpose on his Behalf, that He might rest till He might securely enter upon his Journey: Only Abbot *Mountague* writ very obligingly to him, and offered all the Offices could be in his Power to perform, and excused the Rigour of the Court's Proceedings, as the Effect of such Reason of State, as would not permit any Alteration whilst They had that Apprehension of the Parliament; and therefore advised him “to comply with their Wishes, and make no longer Stay in *Roan*, which would not be permitted.” But the general Indisposition of his Body, the Fatigue of his Journey, and the Bruises He had

had received by the Falls and Overturnings of the Coach, made him not able to rise out of his Bed; and the Physicians, who had taken much Blood from him, exceedingly dissuaded it. All which, how visible soever, prevailed not with his *French* Conductor to lessen his Importunity that He would go, though it was evident He could not easily stand; of which no Doubt He gave true and faithful Advertisement to the Court, though the Jealousy of being not thought active enough in his Trust made his Behaviour much less civil, than is agreeable to the Custom of that Nation.

HOWEVER the Chancellor, hardened by the Inhumanity of his Treatment, writ such a Letter in *Latin* <sup>He again re-
presents his
ill State of
Health to the
French Court.</sup> to *Monsieur De Lionne*, by whose Hand all the ungente Orders to *Monsieur Le Fonde* had been transmitted, as expressed the Condition He was in, and his Disability to comply with his Majesty's Commands until He could recover more Strength; not without Complaint of the little Civility He had received in *France*. And He writ likewise to the Abbot *Mountague*, "to use his Credit with *Monsieur De Tellier*," upon whose Humanity He more depended, "to interpose with his *Christian* Majesty, that He might not be pressed beyond what his Health would bear." And since at that Time He resolved to make his Journey to *Avignon*, that He might be out of the Dominions of *France*, He desired, "that He might have Liberty to rest some Days at *Orleans*, until his Servants who were upon the Sea, and brought with them many Things which He wanted, might come to him; and that He might afterwards, in so long a Journey in the worst Season of the Year, have Liberty to take such Repose as his Health would require; in which He could not affect unnecessary Delay, for the great Charge and Expence it must be accompanied with."

THE Answer He received from *Monsieur De Lionne* <sup>But receives
fresh Orders to
remove imme-
diately.</sup> was the renewing the King's Commands for his speedy Departure,

Departure, “ as a Thing absolutely necessary to his
 “ Affairs, and which must not be disputed.” But
 that which affected him the more tenderly, was the
 Sight of a Billet which Abbot *Mountague* sent to him,
 that He had received from *Monsieur De Tellier*, in
 which He said, “ that He had, according to his De-
 “ fire, moved his *Christian* Majesty concerning the
 “ Chancellor of *England*; and that his Majesty was
 “ much displeased that He made not more Haste to
 “ comply with what was most necessary for his Af-
 “ fairs, and that it must be no longer delayed; and
 “ that if He chose to pass to *Avignon*, He might rest
 “ one Day in ten, which was all his Majesty would
 “ allow.”

THIS unexpected Determination, without the least
 Ceremony or Circumstance of Remorse, signified by
 a Person who He was well assured was well inclined
 to have returned a more grateful Answer, in the In-
 stant suppressed all Hopes of finding any Humanity
 in *France*, and raised a Resolution in him to get out
 of those Dominions with all the Expedition that was
 possible: Which his *French* Conductor urged with
 new and importunate Instance; insomuch as though
 there was sure Information, that the Ship, in which
 the Chancellor's Servants and Goods were embarked,
 was arrived at the Mouth of the River, and only kept
 by the cross Wind from coming up to the Town; He
 would by no Means consent to the Delay of one Day
 in Expectation of it, or that his Servants might come
 to him by Land, as He had sent to them to do.

AT this very Time arrived an Express, a Servant
 of his, sent by his Children, with a particular Ac-
 count of all the Transactions in Parliament, and of the
 Bill of Banishment; of Nothing of which He had be-
 fore heard, and upon which the Duke of *York*, who
 looked upon himself as ill used by that Prosecution,
 was of Opinion, “ that the Chancellor should make
 “ all possible Haste, and appear by the Day appoint-
 “ ed, and undergo the Trial, in which He knew his
 “ Innocence

“Innocence would justify him.” This Advice, with a little Indignation at the Discourtesy of the Court of *France*, diverted him from any farther Thought of *Avignon*. And though He did not imagine that his Strength would be sufficient to perform the Journey by the Day assigned (for the Gout had already seized upon Both his Feet), nor did the Arguments for his Return satisfy him; and the Breach of all the Promises which had been made was no Sign that They meant speedily to bring him to Trial, towards which They had not yet made any Preparation: Yet He resolved to make all possible Haste to *Calais*, that it might be in his Power to proceed according to such Directions as He might reasonably expect to receive there from his Friends from *England*, and from whence He might quickly remove into the *Spanish* Dominions; though the Climate of *Flanders*, well known to him, terrified him in Respect of the Season and his approaching Gout. And with this Resolution He dispatched the Express again for *England*; and left Order with a Merchant at *Roan*, “to receive his Goods when the Ship should arrive, and detain both them and his Servants till He should send farther Orders from *Calais*.” And at the same Time He writ to a Friend in *Flanders*, to speak to the Marquis of *Carracena*, with whom He had formerly held a fair Correspondence, “to send him a Pass to go through that Country to what Place He should think fit.” And having thus provided for his Journey, He departed from *Roan*, after He had remained there about twenty Days.

IN how ill a Condition of Health soever He was to travel, when the Days were at shortest, He resolved to make no Stay till He should reach *Calais*, to the End, that if He met with no Advice there to the Contrary, He might be at *London* by the Day limited by the Proclamation, which was the first of *February* that Style: And it was the last of *January* the *French* Style when He arrived at *Calais*, so broken with the Fatigue

He returns to Calais.

Where He is confined to his Bed by a dangerous Illness.

Fatigue of the Journey and the Defluxion of the Gout, that He could not move but as He was carried, and was so put into a Bed; and the next Morning the Physicians found him in a Fever, and thought it necessary to open a Vein, which They presently did. But the Pains in all his Limbs so increased, that He was not able to turn in his Bed; nor for many Nights closed his Eyes. Many Letters He found there from *England*⁽⁴⁾, but was not in a Condition to read them, nor in Truth could speak and discourse with any Body. *Monsieur Le Fonde*, out of pure Compassion, suffered him to remain some Days without his Vexation, until He received fresh Orders from *Paris*, “that the Chancellor might not, in what Case soever, be suffered to remain in *Calais*.” And then He renewed his Importunity, “that He would the next Day leave the Town, and either by Sea or Land, if He thought it not fit to pass for *England*, put himself into the *Spanish* Dominions, which He might do in few Hours.”

Yet He is required to retire out of the French Territories.

He was so confounded with the Barbarity, that He had no Mind to give him any Answer; nor could He suddenly find Words, their Conversation being in *Latin*, to express the Passion He was in. At last He told him, “that He must bring Orders from God Almighty as well as from the King, before He could obey: That He saw the Condition He was in, and conferred every Day with his Physicians, by which He could not but know, that He could neither help himself, nor endure the being carried out of that Chamber, if the House were in a Flame; and therefore that He did not use him like a Gentleman, in adding his unreasonable Importunities to the Vexation He suffered by Pain and Sickness. That He might be very confident, his Treatment had not been so obliging to make him stay one Hour in *France*, after He should be able to go out of it: But He would not willingly endanger himself by Sea to fall into the Hands of his Enemies. That

“He

“He knew” (for He had shewed him his Letter),
“that He had written into *Flanders* for a Pass, which
“was not yet come: As soon as it did, if He could
“procure a Litter and endure the Motion of it, He
“would remove to *St. Omers* or *Newport*, which were
“the nearest Places under the *Spanish* Government.”

To all which He replied with no Excess of Courtesy,
“that He must and would obey his Orders as He had
“done; and that He had no Power to judge of his
“Disability to remove, or of the Pain He underwent.”
And there is no Doubt the Gentleman, who was well
bred and in his Nature very civil, was not pleased with
his Province, and much troubled that He could not
avoid the Delivery of the Orders He received: And
the Conjuncture of their Affairs was such with Reference
to the Designs then on Foot, that every Post
brought reiterated Commands for the Chancellor’s
Remove; which grew every Day more impossible, by
the Access of new Pain to the Weakness He was in for
Want of Sleep without any Kind of Sustenance.

NOTWITHSTANDING which, within few Days after
the last Encounter, upon fresh Letters from *Monsieur
Lionne*, the Gentleman came again to him, told him
what Orders He had received, and again proposed,
“that He would either make Use of a Boat to *Newport*
“or *Ostend*, or a *Brancard* to *St. Omers*; either of which
“He would cause to be provided against the next
“Morning, for the King’s Service was exceedingly
“concerned in the Expedition.” And when He saw
the other was not moved with what He said, nor gave
him any Answer, He told him plainly, “that the King
“would be obeyed in his own Dominions; and if He
“would not choose to do that which the King had
“required, He must go to the Governour, who had
“Authority and Power to compel him, which He
“durst not but do.” Upon which, with the Supply
of Spirit that Choler administered to him, He told him,
“that though the King was a very great and powerful
“Prince, He was not yet so omnipotent, as to make
“a dying

“ a dying Man strong enough to undertake a Journey.
 “ That He was at the King’s Mercy, and would endure what He should exact from him as well as He (47)
 “ was able: It was in his Majesty’s Power to send him
 “ a Prisoner into *England*, or to cause him to be carried dead or alive into the *Spanish* Territories; but
 “ He would not be *Felo de se*, by willingly attempting
 “ to do what He and all who saw him knew was not
 “ possible for him to perform.” And in this Passion He added some Words of Reproach to *Le Fonde*, which were more due to *Monsieur De Lionne*, who in Truth had not behaved himself with any Civility: Whereupon He withdrew in the like Disorder, and for some Days forbore so much as to see him, in which He had never before failed a Day.

AND the Chancellor, who really did believe that some Force and Violence would be used towards him, presently sent to desire the chief Magistrates of the Town and the Lieutenant Governour to come to him; and then told them all the Treatment He had received from *Monsieur Le Fonde*, and appealed to them, “ whether They thought him in a Condition to perform any Journey.” And the Physicians being likewise present, He required them to sign such a Certificate and Testimony of his Sickness as They thought their Duty, which They readily performed; very fully declaring under their Hands, “ that He could not be removed out of the Chamber in which He lay, without manifest Danger of his Life.” And the Lieutenant Governour and the President of Justice seemed much scandalized at what had been so much pressed, of which They had taken Notice many Days: And the one of them wrote to the Count of *Charrou*, Governour of the Town and then at Court, and the other to *Monsieur De Lionne*, what They thought fit; and the Certificate of the Physicians was enclosed to the Abbot *Mountague*, with a full Relation of what had passed. And it was never doubted, but that *Monsieur Le Fonde* himself made a very faithful Relation of the
 Impossibility

Impossibility that the Chancellor could comply with what was required, in the State of Sicknes and Pain that He was in at present.

By this Time the *French* Court discovered, that The French Court suddenly alters its Behaviour. They were prevented of entering into that strait Alliance They hoped with *England* (and for obtaining whereof They had gratified the proud and malicious Humours of the Duke of *Buckingham* and Lord *Arlington* in the Treatment of the Chancellor), by the *Triple League*, which They had used all those Compliances to prevent: So that by the next Post after the Receipt of the Certificate from the Physicians, *Monsieur De Lionne* writ a very civil Letter to the Chancellor, in which He protested, “that He had the same “Respect for him which He had always professed to “have in his greatest Fortune, and that it was never “in the Purpose of his *Christian* Majesty to endanger “his Health by making any Journey that He could He has Leave to reside in France. “not well endure; and therefore that it was left entirely to himself to remove from *Calais* when He “thought fit, and to go to what Place He would.” And *Monsieur Le Fonde* came now again to visit him with another Countenance, by which a Man could not but discern, that He was much better pleased with the Commission He had received last than with the former; and told him, “that He was now to receive “no Orders but from himself, which He would gladly “obey.”

THIS gave him some little Ease in the Agony He was in, for his Pains increased to an intolerable Degree, insomuch that He could not rise out of his Bed in six Weeks. And it was the more welcome to him, because at the same Time He received an Account from his Friend in *Flanders*, “that the Marquis of “*Castelle Roderigo*, with as much Regret as a civil Man “could express, protested, *that the Fear He had of of-* “*fending the Parliament at that Time would not permit* “*him to grant a Pass: But if He would come to New-* “*port, He should find the Governour there well prepared* “and

“and disposed to shew him all possible Respect, and to accommodate him in his Passage throughout the Country, where it would not be convenient for him to make any Stay: and that He looked upon it as a great Misfortune to himself, that He might not wait upon him in his Passage.”

This made it easy for him to discern, that his Enemies would not give him any Rest in any Place where their Malice could reach him: And since They were so terrible that the Marquis of *Castelle Roderigo* durst not grant him a Pass, He thought it would be no hard Matter for them to cause some Affront to be put on him when He should be without any Pass; though He had not the least Suspicion of the Marquis his failing in Point of Honour or Courtesy.

At the same Time He received Advice from his Friends in *England*, “that the Storm from *France* was over, and that He might be permitted to stay in any Part thereof; and for the present Time They wished that He would repair to the Waters of *Bourbon* for his Health, and then choose such a Place to reside in, as upon Inquiry He should judge most proper.” But He was not yet so far reconciled to that Court, though He liked the Climate well, as to depend upon its Protection: And therefore He resumed his former Purpose of going to *Avignon*, and, if He could recover Strength for the Journey before the Season should be expired for drinking the Waters of *Bourbon*, to pass that Way. And to that Purpose He sent to the Court “for a Pass to *Avignon*, with Liberty to stay some Days at *Roan*,” where his Goods and his Monies were (for his Servants had come from thence to him to *Calais*), “and to use the Waters of *Bourbon* in his Way:” All which was readily granted.

It was the third of *April*, before He recovered Strength enough to endure a Coach: And then, having bought a large and easy Coach of the President of *Calais*, He hired Horses there. And so He begun his Journey for *Roan*, being still so lame and weak that He could not go without being supported: And the first

He returns to
Roan,

first Day had a very ill Omen by the Negligence of the Coachman, who passing upon the Sands between *Calais* and *Boulogne*, when the Sea was flowing, drove so unadvisedly (which He might have avoided, as the Horsemen and another Coach did), that the Sea came over the Boot of the Coach, to the Middle of all those who fate in it; and a Minute's Pause more had inevitably overthrown the Coach (the Weight whereof only then prevented it), and They had been all covered with the Sea. And two Days after, by the Change of the Coachman for a worse, He was overthrown in a Place almost as bad, into a deep and dirty Water, from whence He was with Difficulty and some Hurt drawn out. Both which wonderful Deliverances were comfortable Instances that God would protect him, of which He had within few Days a fresh and extraordinary Evidence.

WHEN He came to *Roan*, He received all those Orders He had desired from the Court. And a Letter from Abbot *Mountague* assured him, "that He need
 " no more apprehend any Discommodity from Orders
 " of the Court, but might be confident of the Con-
 " trary, and of all Respect that could be shewed him
 " from thence: That He might stay at *Roan* as long
 " as his Indisposition required; and when He had
 " made Use of the Waters of *Bourbon*, He might re-
 " tire to any Place He would choose to reside in."
 Monsieur *Le Fonde* had Orders, "after He had accom-
 " panied the Chancellor two or three Days Journey
 72) " towards *Bourbon*, except He desired his Company
 " longer, to return to Court. Only Monsieur *De Lionne*
 " desired, "that He would not in his Journey come
 " nearer *Paris* than the direct Way required him to do,
 " because the Emperour's Agent at *London*, the Baron
 " of *Isola*, had confidently averred, *that the King had*
 " one Day gone incognito from the Bois de Vincennes
 " to meet the Chancellor, and had a long private Conference
 " with him."

WHEN

From whence
He begins his
Journey to
Avignon.

WHEN He had stayed as long at *Roan* as was necessary for the taking a little Physick and recovering a little Strength, the Season required his making Haste to *Bourbon*: And so on the twenty third of *April* He began his Journey from thence; and that He might comply with the Directions of *Monsieur De Lionne*, He chose to go by the Way of *Eureux*, and to lodge there that Night. And because He was unable to go up a Pair of Stairs, He sent a Servant before, as He had always done, to choose an Inn where there was some Ground-Lodging, which often was attended with Discommodity enough, and now (besides being forced to go through the City into the Suburbs) was like to cost him very dear.

He is greatly
abused by some
English at
Eureux.

THERE happened to be at that Time quartered there a Foot-Company of *English* Seamen, who had been raised and were entertained to serve the *French* in attending upon their Artillery, some of them being Gunners; and none of them had the Language, but were attended by a *Dutch* Conductor, who spake ill *English*, for their Interpreter. Their Behaviour there was so rude and barbarous, in being always drunk, and quarrelling and fighting with the Townsmen who would not give them any Thing They demanded, that the City had sent to the Court their Complaints, and expected Orders that Night for their Remove. They quickly heard of the Chancellor's being come to the Town; and calling their Company together declared, "that there were many Months Pay due to them in
" *England*, and that They would make him pay it before He got out of the Town."

HE was scarce gotten into his ill Ground-Lodging, when many of them flocked about the House: Upon which the Gates of the Inn were shut, They making a great Noise, and swearing They would speak with the Chancellor; and, being about the Number of fifty, They threatened to break open the Gate or pull down the House. The Mutiny was notorious to all the Street; but They had not Courage to appear against them:

them: The Magistrates were sent to; but there was a Difference between them upon the Point of Jurisdiction, this Uproar being in the Suburbs. In short, They broke open the Door of the Inn: And when They were entered into the Court, They quickly found which was the Chancellor's Chamber. And the Door being barricadoed with such Things as were in the Room, They first discharged their Pistols into the Window, with which They hurt some of the Servants, and *Monsieur Le Fonde*, who with his Sword kept them from entering in at the Window with great Courage, until He was shot with a Brace of Bullets in the Head, with which He fell: And then another of the Servants being hurt, They entered in at the Window, and opened the Door for the rest of their Company, which quickly filled the Chamber.

THE Chancellor was in his Gown, sitting upon the Bed, being not able to stand; upon whom They all came with their Swords drawn: And one of them gave him a Blow with a great Broadsword upon the Head, which if it had fallen upon the Edge must have cleft his Head; but it turned in his Hand, and so struck him with the Flat, with which He fell backward on the Bed. They gave him many ill Words, called him "Traitor," and swore, "before He should get out of their Hands He should lay down all their Arrears of Pay." They differed amongst themselves what They should do with him, some crying, "that They would kill him," others, "that They would carry him into *England*:" Some had their Hands in his Pockets, and pillaged him of his Money and some other Things of Value; others broke up his Trunks and plundered his Goods. When himself recovered out of the Trance in which He was stunned by the Blow, They took him by the Hand who spake of carrying him into *England*, and told him, "it was the wisest Thing They could do to carry him thither, where They would be well rewarded:" Another swore, "that They should be better rewarded for kill-

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“ing him there.” And in this Confusion, the Room being full and all speaking together, the Fellow who had given him the Blow, whose Name was *Howard*, a very lusty strong Man, took him by the Hand, and swore, “They should hurt one another if They killed him there; and therefore They would take him into the Court, and dispatch him where there was more Room. And thereupon others laid their Hands upon him and pulled him to the Ground, and then dragged him into the Court, being in the same Instant ready to run their Swords into him together: When in the Moment their Ensign, and some of the Magistrates with a Guard, came into the Court, the Gate being broken; and so He was rescued out of their bloody Hands, and carried back into his Chamber.

HOWARD and many of the other, some whereof had been hurt with Swords as They entered at the Window, were taken and carried to Prison, and the rest dispersed, vowing Revenge when They should get the rest of their Company together: And it cannot be expressed with how much Fear the Magistrates, and the poor Guard that attended them, apprehended their coming upon them together again.

THE Chancellor himself had the Hurt before mentioned in his Head, which was a Contusion, and already swollen to a great Bigness; *Monsieur Le Fonde* was shot into the Head with a Brace of Bullets, and bled much, but seemed not to think himself in Danger; two of the Chancellor’s Servants were hurt with Swords, and lost much Blood: So that They all desired to be in some secure Place, that Physicians and Surgeons might visit them. And by this Time many Persons of Quality of the Town, both Men and Women, filled the little Chamber; bitterly inveighing against the Villainy of the Attempt, but renewing the Dispute of their Jurisdiction. And the Provost, who out of the City was the greater Officer, would provide an Accommodation for them in his own House in the

City,

City, and appoint a Guard for them; which the Magistrates of the City would not consent to, nor He to the Expedient proposed by them. And this Dispute with Animosity and very ill Words continued in the Chamber till Twelve of the Clock at Night, the hurt Persons being in the mean Time without any Remedy or Ease: So that the Magistrates, though They were not so dangerous, were as troublesome as the Seamen, against whom They were not yet secure upon a second Attempt.

In the End; *Monsieur Le Fonde* was forced to raise his Voice louder than was agreeable to the State He was in, to threaten to complain of them to the King, for their Neglect before and after the Mischief was done: By which They were much moved, and presently sent to the Governour of the Duke of *Bouillon's* Castle (which is a good and noble House in the Town), "that He would receive the Chancellor and *Monsieur Le Fonde*, with such Servants as were necessary for "their Attendance;" which He did with great Courtesy, and gave them such Accommodation as in an unfurnished House could on the Sudden be expected. And so Physicians and Surgeons visited their Wounds, and applied such present Remedies as were necessary, till upon some Repose They might make a better Judgment.

(474) THE same Night there were Expresses dispatched to the Court to give Advertisement of the Outrage, and to *Roan* to inform the Intendant in whose Province it was committed: And He the next Day with a good Guard of Horse arrived at *Eureux*. After He had visited the Chancellor, with the just Sense of the Inference He had undergone, and of the Indignity that the King and his Government had sustained; He proceeded in the Court of Justice to examine the whole Proceedings, and much blamed the Magistrates on all Sides for their Negligence and Remissness. Upon the whole Examination there appeared no Cause to believe, that there was any formed Design in which any

others had concurred than They who appeared in the Execution, who defended themselves by being drunk, which did not appear in any other Thing than in the Barbarity of the Action. Yet it was confessed, that upon their first Arrival at *Dieppe*, and whilst They were quartered there, the Chancellor then passing by between *Roan* and *Calais*, They had a Resolution to have robbed or killed him, if They had not been prevented by his getting the Gates opened, and so going away before the usual Hour.

THE Surgeons found *Monsieur Le Fonde's* Wound to be more dangerous than They had apprehended, and that at least one of the Bullets remained still in the Wound, and doubted that it might have hurt the Scull, in which Case trepanning would be necessary; which made him resolve, though He was feverish, presently to have a *Brancard* made, and to be put into it in his Bed, and so with Expedition to be carried to *Paris*, where He was sure to find better Operators, besides the Benefit and Convenience of his own House and Family. And so the third Day after his Misadventure, and after He had given his Testimony to the Intendant, He was in that Manner, and attended by a Surgeon, conveyed to *Paris*; and, by the Blessing of God, recovered without the Remedy that had been proposed.

THE Chancellor, after He had been bled once or twice, found himself only in Pain with the Blow, without any other Symptoms which frequently attend great Contusions; and therefore He positively rejected the Proposition of trepanning, which had been likewise earnestly urged by the Surgeons: And upon Application of such Plasters and Ointments as were prescribed, He found both the Pain and Swelling lessen by Degrees, though the Memory of the Blow lasted long; so that He thought himself fit enough for his Journey, and was impatient to be out of that unlucky Town; and his Servants, having only Flesh-Hurts, could endure the Coach as well as He. The Intendant,

ant, who knew his Desire, and was willing to defer his Judgment till He was gone from thence, was very well content that He should proceed in his Journey; and sent his Sons with his own Troop to convoy him two or three Leagues out of the Town; and appointed the Provost with his Troop of Horse to attend him to his Lodging that Night, and farther if He desired it. And the next Day He condemned *Howard* and two others, an *Englishman*, a *Scotchman*, and an *Irishman* (for the Company consisted of the three Nations), to be broken upon the Wheel; which was executed accordingly. And shortly after his Arrival at *Bourbon*, *Monfieur de Lionne* writ a very civil Letter to the Chancellor, "of the Trouble the King sustained for the Affront and Danger He had undergone; and that his Majesty was very ill satisfied, that so few as three had been sacrificed to Justice for so barbarous a Crime."

He removes from thence to Bourbon.

WHEN He had stayed as long at *Bourbon* in the Use of the Waters, as the Physicians prescribed (in which Time He found a good Recovery of his Strength, save that the Weakness of his Feet still continued in an uneasy Degree); and had received great Civilities during his Abode there from all the *French* of Quality, Men and Women, who came thither for the same Remedies, and with whom the Town then abounded; He prosecuted his Journey to *Avignon*: And having stayed a Week at *Lyons*, without any new ill Accident He arrived about the Middle of *June* there, by the pleasant Passage of the *Rhone*.

And from thence to Avignon.

THOUGH He desired to make his Journey as privately as He could, and had no more Servants in his Train than was necessary to the State of Health He was in; yet He was known in most Places by the Presence of *English*, or by some other Accident. And some Friends at *Paris* had given such Advertisement to *Avignon*, that when He arrived there, He had no sooner entered into a private Lodging, which He procured the next Day, but the Vice-Legate came to visit

His good Reception there.

him in great State and with much Civility, offering all the Commodities of that Place if He would reside there. The Archbishop a very reverend and learned Prelate, a *Genoese*, as the Vice-Legate likewise was, performed the same Ceremony to him; and afterwards the Consuls and Magistrates of the City in a Body (who made a Speech to him in *Latin*, as all the rest treated him in that Language), and all the principal Officers of the Court: So that He could not receive more Civility and Respect in any Place; which, together with the Cheapness and Convenience of Living, and the Pleasantness of the Country about it, might have inclined him to reside there. Yet the ill Savour of the Streets by the Multitude of Dyers and of the Silk-Manufactures, and the worse Smell of the *Jews*, made him doubt that it could be no pleasant Place to make an Abode in during the Heat of Summer: And therefore receiving new Confirmation by Letters from *Paris*, "that He was entirely at Liberty to reside "where He would in *France*," He resolved to take a View of some Places before He would conclude where to fix; and the Fame of *Montpelier*, that was within two little Days Journey, invited him thither. And so after a Week's Stay at *Avignon*, and after having returned all the Visits He had received, He went from thence, and came to *Montpelier* in the Beginning of *July*.

He goes to
Montpelier.

Where He re-
ceives great
Civilities from
the Lady Mor-
daunt.

It was his very good Fortune, that an *English* Lady of eminent Virtue and Merit, the Lady Viscountess *Mordaunt*, who had in the Beginning of the Winter before, in as great Weakness of Body as Nature can subsist with, transported herself thither, remained still at *Montpelier*; where She had miraculously, by the Benefit of that Air, recovered a comfortable Degree of Health: And the News of her being still there was a great Motive to his Journey from *Avignon* thither. The Chancellor had no Mind to be taken Notice of; but some Relations which that Lady made to his Advantage, and the great Esteem that City had of her,

made

made his Reception there more formal and ceremonious than He desired.

THE Marquis *De Castro*, Governour of the City and Castle, visited him and welcomed him to the Town, ^{Great Respect paid to him there.} though He had not so much as a Pass to come thither. The *Premier* President, and all the other Courts, and the Consul and other Magistrates of the City, visited him in their several Bodies, and entertained him in *Latin*. It is true, that some Days after, the Intendant of the Province (who was not then in the Town) came thither; and He had received Orders from the Court, as soon as it was known that the Chancellor was in *Montpelier*, “that He should be looked upon “and treated as a Person of whom the *Most Christian* “King had a good Esteem:” And so, as soon as He came to the Town, He visited him with much Ceremony, and told him, “that He had received a particular Command from the King to do him all the “Services He could in that City, and in the Province “of *Languedoc*.” And it must be confessed, that 476) during his Residence in *Montpelier*, which was not above one or two Months less than three Years, He did receive as much Civility and formal Courtesy from all Persons of all Conditions in that Place, or who occasionally resorted thither, as could have been performed towards him, if He had been sent thither as a publick Person. And when the Duke of *Vernueil* (who was Governour of the Province, and used to convene the States thither every Year) came to *Montpelier*, as He did three Times in those three Years, He always visited the Chancellor, and shewed a very great Respect to him: Which was as great a Countenance as He could receive.

YET He did always acknowledge, that He owed ^{Which He imputes to the Friendship of Lady Mordaunt.} all the Civilities which He received at his first coming thither, and which were upon the Matter the first Civilities He had received in *France*, purely to the Friendship of the Lady *Mordaunt*, and to the great Credit She had there: And for which, and the Consolation He

received from her during the Time of her Stay there, He had ever a great Respect for her and her Husband; who, coming likewise thither, when He received Information from *England* of a Design to assassinate him by some *Irish*, manifested a noble Affection for him, and stayed some Months longer than He intended to have done, that He might see the Issue of that Design. Of which He had a just Sense, and transmitted the Information of it to his Children, to the End that They and his Friends might, upon all Opportunities, acknowledge it to them Both.

AND in Truth the great Respect the Place had for him was notorious, when any *English* came thither, and forbore to pay any Respect to the Chancellor; as only one Gentleman did, Sir *Richard Temple*, who publickly declared "that He would not visit him," and dissuaded others from it as a Matter the Parliament would punish them for, and shewed much Vanity and Insolence in his Discourses concerning him: But He found so little Countenance from any Person of Condition, though He called himself "the *Premier* President of "the Parliament of *England*," and such a general Aver-sion towards him; that as They who came with him, and his other Friends, deserted him and paid their Civilities to the Chancellor, so himself grew so ridiculous, that He left the Town sooner than He intended, and left the Reputation behind him of a very vain, humourous and fordid Person.

AND having thus accompanied the Chancellor through all his ill Treatments and Misadventures to *Montpelier*, where He resolved to stay, it will be to no Purpose farther to continue this Relation; otherwise than as himself afterwards communicated his private Thoughts and Reflections to his Friends.

WHEN He found himself at this Ease, and with those convenient Accommodations, that He might reasonably believe He should be no more exposed to the Troubles and Distresses which He had passed through; He began to think of composing his Mind
to

to his Fortune, and of regulating and governing his own Thoughts and Affections towards such a Tranquillity, as the Sickness of Mind and Body, and the continued sharp Fatigue in the six or seven precedent Months had not suffered to enter into any formed Deliberation. And it pleased God in a short Time, after some Recollections, and upon his entire Confidence in him, to restore him to that Serenity of Mind, and Resignation of himself to the Disposal and good Pleasure of God, that They who conversed most with him could not discover the least Murmur or Impatience in him, or any Unevenness in his Conversations. He resolved to improve his Understanding of the *French* Language, not towards speaking it, the Defect of which He found many Conveniences in, but for the reading any Books; and to learn the *Italian*: Towards

77) Both which He made a competent Progress, and had Opportunity to buy or borrow any good Books He desired to peruse.

BUT in the first Place He thought He was indebted to his own Reputation, and obliged for the Information of his Children and other Friends, to vindicate himself from those Aspersions and Reproaches which the Malice of his Enemies had cast upon him in the Parliament; which, though never reduced into any formal or legal Charge, nor offered to be proved by any one Witness, were yet maliciously scattered abroad and divulged to take away his Credit. And the Performance of this Work, that was so necessarily incumbent to him, was the more difficult, by his constant and uninterrupted Fidelity and Zeal for the King's Service, and his Resolution to say Nothing on his own Behalf and for his own Vindication, that might in the least Degree reflect upon his Majesty; which Consideration had before kept him from charging those who persecuted him, with such indirect and naughty Proceedings as might have put an End to their Power. Nor did He think fit in that Conjunction, when his Majesty had not yet met with that Compliance and

He writes a Vindication of himself.

Submission

Submission from the Parliament since the Chancellor's Remove, as had been promised to him as the Effect of that Counsel, to publish that his coming away (which was the greatest Blot upon his Reputation) was with the King's Privy, and at least with his Approbation. However He was resolved to commit into the Custody of his Children, who He knew could never commit a Fault against his Majesty, such a plain particular Defence of his Innocence upon every one of the Reproaches He had been charged with, that themselves might infallibly know his Uprightness and Integrity in all his Ministry, which They observed and knew too much of to suspect; and might likewise manifestly convince other Men, who were willing to be undeceived: But the Manner of doing it in Respect of the former Consideration, He left to their Discretion. And having prepared this, and caused it to be fairly transcribed, before the Lord and Lady *Mordaunt* returned for *England*; He committed it to their Care, who delivered it safely to the Hands of his Sons.

THEY were themselves upon that Disadvantage under the Reproach of their Relation, that the eldest of them was removed from his Attendance upon the Queen for many Months without the Allegation of any Crime; and the other was retained only by the Goodness of the King, against the greatest Importunity that could be applied: And therefore it concerned them to be very wary in giving any Offence, of which their Adversaries might take any Advantage. Besides, They observed that They, whose Credit and Interest had done all the Mischief to their Father, were now fallen out amongst themselves with equal Animosity, and had all carried themselves so ill with Reference to the Publick, and so loosely and licentiously in Order to a good Name, that their being Enemies brought little Prejudice to any Man's Reputation; and many of those, who had been made Instruments to deprave the Chancellor, were not scrupulous in declaring how They had been cozened, and how unjustly He had been tra-

duced

duced and accused: So that They made no other Use of the Answer and Vindication They had received, than to be thereby enabled to make a perfect Relation of some particular Matters of Fact which were variously reported, and could not be understood by any but those who had been conversant in the Transactions.

IT will be therefore necessary in this Place, since there hath been before so methodical an Account of all that the Committee brought into the House of Commons against him, and never after mentioned when They had once accused him, to insert such a short Answer and Defence to all that was alledged, out of that Vindication which He sent from *Montpelier*, that Nothing may remain in the possible Thoughts of any worthy and uncorrupted Man that may reflect upon his Sincerity, or leave any Taint upon his Memory; the Preservation of which from being sullied by the Misfortunes which befell him, is the only End of this Discourse, never to be communicated, or perused by any but his nearest Relations; who, by the Blessing of God, can never but retain that Affection and Duty to the Crown and for the Royal Family, that by the Laws of God and Man is due to it and them, and without which They can never expect God's Blessing in this or the World to come. And in this I shall observe the Order I used before in the Mention of the several Allegations, omitting upon any Particular the Repetition of what hath been at large already said in this Discourse, which shall be referred to for Answer.

His Answer to the several Articles of the Charge against him.

To the FIRST then, *That He had designed a standing Army, and to govern the Kingdom thereby; advised the King to dissolve the present Parliament, and to lay aside all Thoughts of future Parliaments; to govern by military Power, and to maintain the same by free Quarter and Contribution* (which, if true, whether it was Treason or no, must worthily have made him odious to all honest Men):

His Answer.

THE Answer which He then made, and which was dated at *Montpelier*, upon the twenty fourth of *July* 1668, within few Days after his Arrival there and Resolution to stay there, was in these Words. He said, As Nothing could be more surprising to him, nor He thought to any Man else, than to find himself, after near thirty Years Service of the Crown in the highest Trust; after having passed all the Time of his Majesty's Exile with him beyond the Seas and in his Service, and in which the indefatigable Pains He took was notorious to many Nations; and after He had the Honour and Happiness to return again with his Majesty into *England*, and to receive from him so many eminent Marks of his Favour, and to serve him near eight Years after his Return in the Place of the greatest Trust, without ever having discovered that his Majesty was offended with him, or in Truth that He had ever the least ill Success from any Counsel He had ever given him; or that any Persons of Honour and Reputation, or Interest in the Nation, had ever made the least Complaint against him, or had any Thought that the Miscarriages (for Miscarriages were enough spoken of) had proceeded from him, or from any Advice of his: He said, that as after all this He could not but be exceedingly surprised to find himself on a Sudden, when He had not the least Imagination of it, bereft of the King's Favour, and fallen so far from his Kindness, even within three or four Days after his Majesty had vouchsafed to condole with him in his House for the Death of his Wife, that He resolved to take the Great Seal from him; so it was no small Comfort to him to see and know, that very few Men of Honour and Reputation approved or liked what was done; but that the same was contrived, pursued, and brought to pass by Men and Women of no Credit in the Nation; by Men, who had never served his Majesty or his blessed Father eminently or usefully, but most of them of Trust and Credit under *Cromwell*, or never of Credit to do the King the least Service; and who were only

only angry with him for not being pleased with their vicious and debauched Lives, or for opposing and dissuading their loose and unreasonable Counsels, which They were every Day audaciously administering in Matters of the highest Moment, with great License and Presumption.

BUT above all, He said, it was of the highest Consolation to him, when it was publickly and industriously declared, "that the King was firmly resolved "to destroy him, and would take it very well from "all Men who would contribute thereunto, by bringing in any Charge or Accusation against him:" when the most notorious Enemies He had were the only Persons trusted in Employment, Men who had most eminently deserved and maliciously traduced the King, and had been to that Time looked upon as such by his Majesty; and when all, who were believed to have any Kindness for the Chancellor, were discountenanced and ill looked upon; when Men of all Conditions and Degrees were daily solicited and importuned, by Promises and Threats, to declare themselves against him, at least if They would not be wrought over to do any Thing against their Conscience, that They would absent themselves from those Debates: That all this Malice and Conspiracy, with so long Deliberation and Consultation, should not be able at last to produce and exhibit any other Charge and Accusation against him, but such a one as most Men who knew him, or who had any Trust or Employment in the publick Affairs, were well able to vindicate him from the Guilt of, and even his Enemies themselves did not believe. The Particulars whereof, He said, as far as He could take Notice of them, they having not been to that Day reduced into any Form, so much as in the House of Commons itself, He would then examine: And if He should appear too tedious in the Examination and Disquisition of them, and to say more than was necessary in his own Defence, and to mention many particular Persons in another Manner than is usual upon Occasi-

ons of this Kind; He desired it might be remembered and considered, that this was not written as a formal Answer to an Impeachment, nor like to be published in his Life-Time, a Judgment of Banishment being passed against him (without the least Proof made or offered for the making good any one Article of Treason or Misdemeanor) by Act of Parliament; but that it was a Debt due to his Children and Posterity, that They might know (how much soever They were involved or might be in the Effects of the sharp Malice against him) how far He was from any Guilt of those odious Crimes which had been so odiously laid to his Charge.

AND that being his End, He might be excused if He did so far enlarge upon all Particulars, that it might be manifest unto them how far He had been from treading in those Paths, or having been accessory to those Counsels, which had been the Source from whence all those bitter Waters had flowed, that had corrupted the Taste even almost of the whole Nation. And in Order to that so necessary Discourse and Vindication of his Integrity and Honour, He could only take Notice of the printed Paper of those Heads for a Charge, that had been reported from the Committee to the House; all Correspondence and Communication being so strictly inhibited to all Kind of Men to hold any Kind of Commerce with him, except his Children and menial Servants, who only had Liberty to write unto him of his own domestick Affairs; and the Letters which They should write or receive were to be first communicated to one of the Secretaries of State.

To the Charge of the first Article itself He said; it was no great Vanity to believe, that there was not one Person in *England* of any Quality to whom He was in any Degree known, who believed him guilty of that Charge: And that He wanted not a Cloud of Witnesses (besides the Testimony that He hoped his Majesty himself would vouchsafe to give him in that Particular)

particular) who, from all that They had heard him say in Council and in Conversation, could vindicate him from having that odious Opinion. Having had the Honour, by the special Command of his late Majesty of blessed Memory, to attend the Prince, his now Majesty, into the Parts beyond the Seas, and to be always with him and in his Service those many Years of his Exile, and till his happy Return; He had always endeavoured to imprint in his Majesty's Mind an Affection, Esteem and Reverence for the Laws of the Land; "without the trampling of which under Foot," He told him "that himself could not have been oppressed; and that by the Vindication and Support of them, He could only hope and expect Honour and Security to the Crown." Upon that Foundation and declared Judgment (He said) He came into the Service of the King his Father, by opposing all irregular and illegal Proceedings in Parliament; and that He had never swerved from that Rule in any Advice and Counsel He had given to him or to his Son.

FROM the Time of his Majesty's happy Return from beyond the Seas, He had taken Nothing so much to Heart, as the Establishment of the due Administration of Justice throughout the Kingdom according to the known Laws of the Land, as the best Expedient He could think of for the composing the general Distempers of the Nation, and uniting the Hearts of the People in a true Obedience unto and Reverence for his Majesty's Person and Government. And with what Success He had served his Majesty in that Province (which He had been pleased principally to commit to his Care and Trust), He did appeal to the whole Nation; and whether the oldest Man could remember, that in the best Times Justice was ever more equally administered, and with less Complaint and Murmur; which had been frequently acknowledged from all the Parts of the Kingdom, and had been often taken Notice of by the King himself with great Approbation, and confessed by most of the Nobility upon several Occasions.

He

He said, He had often declared in Parliament the King's Affection and Reverence for the Laws, and his Resolution neither to swerve from them himself, nor to suffer any Body else to do so: And upon the publick Occasions of swearing the Judges in any Courts, He had always enjoined them "to be very strict and
 "precise in the Administration of Justice according to
 "Law, with all Equality, and without Respect of Per-
 "sons, which the King expected from them; and that
 "as his Majesty resolved never to interpose by Message
 "or Letter for the Advancement or Favour of any
 "Man's Right or Title, so He would take it very ill
 "if any Subject (how great soever) should be able to
 "pervert them." And He did believe there had never passed so many Years together in any Age, in which the Crown had not in the least Degree interposed in any Cause or Title depending in *Westminster-Hall*, to incline the Court to this or that Side; or in which the Crown itself hath had so many Causes judged against it in several Courts: At least in which former Practice and Usage on the Behalf of the Crown hath been less followed. And Nothing is more known, than that from the Time of the King's blessed Return into *England*, even to the Preparation of that Charge against him, He had been reproached with Nothing so much as his too much adhering to the Law, and subjecting all Persons to it: And this Reproach had not been cast upon him so bitterly and so maliciously by any, and in Places where They thought it might produce most Prejudice to him, as by those who now contrived that Charge, and who had been always great Enemies to the Law.

ALL this, and much more of the same Kind, He said, was manifest to all the World: And therefore He needed not more to labour in that Vindication. Yet He could not but observe, that there was not in all the King's Forces, nor was when his Forces were much greater than They were at that present, one Officer recommended by him: And most of them were such who professed publicly a great Animosity against him, (4
 having

having been, by the Malice of some Men, very unreasonably persuaded that the Chancellor was their Enemy; that He desired that They might be disbanded, or at least so obliged to the Rules of the Law, that They should be every Day cast into Prison. And They had indeed found, that in some Insolencies which the Soldiers had committed contrary to the Law, and some Pretences which They made to Privileges against Arrests, and the like, He had always opposed their Desires with more Warmth than other Men had done; as believing it might be the Cause of notable Disorders, and more alienate the Affection of the People from the Soldiers: So that it could not be thought probable, that He should contribute his Advice *for the raising a Standing Army, and that the Kingdom should be governed thereby*; when there were very few Men so like to be destroyed by that Army as himself, who was so industriously rendered to be odious to it.

To the other Part of that first Article, *that He did advise the King to dissolve the present Parliament, and to lay aside all Thoughts of Parliaments for the future, &c.* which it was said two Privy Counsellors were ready to prove; He made a Relation of all that had passed in that Consternation when the *Dutch Fleet* came into the River as far as *Chatbam*, and when the Debate was in Council upon the reconvening the Parliament in *August*, when it stood prorogued till *October*, which the Chancellor affirmed could not legally be done; all which is more at large related in this Discourse † of the Time when those Transactions passed, and so need not to be repeated in this Place.

THE SECOND Article was, *That He had, in the* The second Article. *Hearing of many of his Majesty's Subjects, falsely and maliciously said, That the King was in his Heart a Papist, popishly affected, or Words to that Effect.*

He said, that He had Occasion too often, through- His Answer. out the whole Charge, to acknowledge and magnify the great Goodness of God Almighty, that, since He

† Page 419, &c.

thought not fit (for his greater Humiliation, and it may be to correct the Pride of a good Conscience) to preserve him entirely from those Aspersions of Infamy, and those *Flagella Linguae*, those Strokes of the Tongue, which always leave some Mark or Scar in the Reputation they desire to wound; He had yet infused into the Hearts of his Enemies, who had suggested and contrived this Persecution against him, to lay such Crimes to his Charge as his Nature is known most to abhor, and which cannot only not be believed, but must be contradicted, and a Vindication of him from that Guilt must be made, by all Men who know him to any Degree, or who have been much in his Company. And as Justice would have required it, so the usual Form in Cases of this Nature doth exact, that in so general a Charge They should have named one single Person of those many, in whose Hearing He had laid that odious Imputation upon the King: And every Man will presume, that one such Person would have been named, if He could have been found.

THERE WAS NO Man then alive, He said, who had the Honour to be so many Years about or near the Person of the King as He had been: No Man who knew more of the Temptation his Majesty had undergone, and the Assaults He had sustained, in the Matter of Religion, during the whole Time of his Exile; when almost a total Despair possessed the Spirits of most Men of his own Religion, that He would recover his Regality; and the Hopes and Promises and Assurances were so pregnant of very many of all Conditions, that He would suddenly recover it if He would change it. No Man knew so well, with what Christian Courage his Majesty had repelled those Assaults, or with what pious Contempt and Indignation He resisted and rejected those Temptations. Nor had any Man, He thought, held so many Discourses with his Majesty concerning Religion as He had done; and sooner and more clearly discerned the Reproaches He would undergo from that innate Candour in his princely Nature,

Nature, which disposed him to receive any Addressees, or to hear any Discourses, which those of several Factions in Religion with great Presumption have used to present to him: Whilst his Majesty hath, with equal Temper and singular Benignity, heard all; and, pitying their Errours, dismissed them with Evidence, that their Arguments were too weak to make Impression upon his Judgment. Which though They knew well, yet either Party, out of the Vanity of their Hearts, used all the Endeavours They could to get it believed, that the King was propitious to them and their Party. And the *Papists*, being most presumptuous in particular, and in their dark Walks in several Counties making it a special Argument to their Profelytes, and those They endeavoured to make so, that the King favoured them, and was of their Religion in his Heart (of which, and the great Prejudice it brought upon his Majesty, He frequently received Advertisements from many Persons of Honour, and of warm Affections to the Government); of which He had always informed the King, who was exceedingly offended at their Folly and Presumption, and wished "that some of them might be
"apprehended, and prosecuted with the utmost Rigour; and that some such Prosecution might be
"made against all the *Roman Catholicks*, and that They
"might be convicted; which He always gave in Charge to the Judges accordingly. And upon that and the like Occasions He had a just and necessary Opportunity to enlarge, in the Presence of many Persons of Honour and Interest in the Kingdom, upon the Sincerity of the King's Religion, and his constant Exercise of it when He suffered by it; giving such Instances of many Particulars as were pertinent to the Discourse: Of which Endeavours of his, and of some Fruit thereof, He doubted not but that many of as considerable Persons as are in *England* would be ready to give him their Testimony. And (He said) He might without Vanity say, that He had more than an ordinary Part in the framing and promoting that Act

of Parliament, that hath made those seditious Discourses, of the King's being a Papist in his Heart, or popishly affected, so very penal as they are: And therefore there would be Need of an undoubted and uncontroulable Evidence, that He had so soon run into that Crime himself. Which was all He would for the present say upon that second Article.

*The third
Article.*

THE THIRD Article was, *That He had received great Sums of Money for passing the Canary Patent, and other illegal Patents; and granted several Injunctions to stop Proceedings at Law against them, and other illegal Patents formerly granted.*

His Answer.

To which He said, that He had presumed in his humble Address to the House of Peers to assure their Lordships, *that He had never received one Penny over and above the just Perquisites of his Office, according to the Precedents and Practice of the best Times, which He conceived to be those of the Lord Coventry and the Lord Ellesmere; and which He had made his Rule in all that He had received, excepting only what He had from the immediate Bounty of the King.* And as He had always done all that was in his Power to prevent and stop all illegal Patents, so He did believe that there would be more Patents then found in the Office, which had been stopped by him, than by any of his Predecessors in so short a Time. He never granted any Injunctions in the Cases mentioned in the Charge, nor in any Case, where, by the Course of the Court and the Rules of Justice, it was not warranted. And for the Canary Patent, and the Original, and all the Proceedings thereupon, so much is said in the Body of this Discourse according to the Time it was transacted in *, that there needs no Repetition of it in this Place.

*The fourth
Article.*

THE FOURTH Article was, *that He had advised and procured divers of his Majesty's Subjects to be imprisoned against Law in remote Islands, Garrisons and other Places; thereby to prevent them from the Benefit of the Law, and to introduce Precedents for imprisoning of other of his Majesty's Subjects in like Manner.*

To which He said, He knew not what Answer to *His Answer.* make to that Article, it being so general, and no particular Person being named: But, He said, it was generally known, that He had never taken it upon him to commit any Man to Prison, but such, who by the Course of the Chancery, for Matters of Contempt are justly and necessarily to be committed. It was probable that He had been present at the Council-Board, when many Persons had been ordered to be committed, and whose Commitment hath by the Wisdom of that Board been thought just and necessary; and therefore He was not to answer apart for any Thing done by them. Only He might say, that He was frequently of Opinion that the Commitments were very necessary: And it was notoriously known, that by such Commitments some Rebellions or Insurrections had been prevented; and that other Persons, who were afterwards attainted and executed for High Treason, had upon their Examinations and at their Death confessed, that their Purpose had been to rise in Arms at such and such Times, if their Friends upon whom They had principally relied had not been then committed to Prison. And, He said, He did well remember, that it was thought fit that most of the Persons who stand attainted for the Murder of the late King, his Majesty's Royal Father, should be removed out of the *Tower*, and dispersed into several Islands and Garrisons; And if any other Persons had been likewise sent thither, He presumed it was upon such Reasons, as upon a due Examination thereof would make it appear to be very just.

THE FIFTH Article was, *That He had corruptly sold* The fifth Article.
several Offices contrary to Law.

THIS He positively denied.

His Answer.

THE SIXTH was, *That He had procured his Majesty's* The sixth Article.
Customs to be farmed at Underrates, knowing the
same; and great pretended Debts to be paid by his
Majesty; to the Payment whereof his Majesty was

not in Strictness bound; and that He had received great Sums of Money for procuring the same.

His Answer.

To this He said, He had never had any Thing to do in the disposing his Majesty's Customs, or any other Part of his Revenue, except for some short Time after his Majesty's first Arrival in *England*; when He, amongst others of the Lords of the Council, was a Commissioner for the Treasury: During which Time there was no Farm let of any of the Revenue, and the Customs were put into the Hands of Commissioners, to the End that a Computation might be made as near as was possible of the full Value of them, before that it should be put into a Farm, which every Man conceived would be fit to be done as soon as might be. The White Staff was shortly after given to the Earl of *Southampton* (to whom his Majesty had designed it before He returned), and the Chancellorship of the Exchequer to the Lord *Ashley*, the Lord Chancellor having resigned it into his Majesty's Hands, which He had been possessed of for ⁽⁴⁸⁴⁾ many Years in the Time of the late King, and retained it till after his Majesty's Return; And from the Time that those two Officers of the Revenue were made, which determined the former Commission, He never intermeddled in the Customs, or in any other Branch of the Revenue; except when the King commanded him to be present in some Consultations which He had with the Lord Treasurer, and when there were other Lords of the Council present. That excellent Person, the Lord Treasurer, always resorted to the King for his Direction, in all Matters of the least Difficulty which occurred to him in the Administration of his Office; and frequently did desire to confer with the Chancellor (with whom He was known to have held a long and a fast Friendship) upon many Particulars of his Office, believing that He was not altogether ignorant in that Administration, with which He had been formerly so well acquainted. And that He conceived might be the Reason, why He did oftentimes procure

procure him to be joined with him in References from the King, upon Matters wholly relating to his own Office. But the Chancellor did never then suffer any particular Application to be made to him in those Cases, nor had ever secret Conferences with any Persons who were concerned in those Pretensions.

WHAT was meant by his having procured his Majesty's Customs to be farmed at Underrates, knowing the same; and great pretended Debts to be paid by his Majesty, to the Payment whereof his Majesty was not in Strictness bound; He said, He could not imagine, except it did relate to the Payment of a Debt due from his late Majesty to some of the Farmers. In which though He had no more to do, than in giving Information and his particular Advice to his Majesty, in the Presence of the Lord Treasurer, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and other of the Lords, and so was not himself responsible for what his Majesty did thereupon; yet He thought himself obliged upon this Particular, which so much concerned the Honour and Justice of the late King and of his present Majesty, to enlarge, and relate all He knew of what their Majesties did, and what induced his present Majesty to do his Part in it.

HE said, it was notoriously known, that before the late Troubles, and in the very first Entrance into them, his Majesty was necessitated to borrow very great Sums of Money from his then Farmers of his Customs, and to oblige them to stand personally bound for many other great Sums of Money, which other Men lent to his Majesty upon their Security. That thereupon, and for the Repayment of those Sums which the Farmers had advanced, and for securing them from any Damage for those Monies which others had lent upon their Obligations; his late Majesty, with the Advice of the then Lord Treasurer and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, had granted a farther Lease of his Customs to those Farmers for three or four Years to come, after the Expiration of their former Lease; with a Covenant on his Majesty's Part, to pay the just Interest for all

such Monies as were advanced by them, or for which They stood bound; and likewise that They should, out of their growing Rent, deduct such Sums of Money by the Year, as They had lent or been bound for, according to such Proportions yearly as was agreed upon. That it was as well known, that shortly after the Beginning of the Parliament in 1640, and before the Commencement of the second Lease, the House of Commons did not only force the said Farmers to pay a very great Sum of Money for their Presumption in receiving Customs and Impositions upon Merchandise in the former Years, when They pretended such Payments were not due; but took also from them their new Lease granted to them by the King, and so left⁽⁴⁸⁾ them without any Capacity of reimbursing themselves of the Money They had lent, and likewise at the Mercy of their Creditors to whom They stood bound; many of whom quickly began to exercise that Severity towards them, that many of the poor Gentlemen had their Estates extended upon Judgments and Recognizances, and their Persons taken in Execution and committed to Prison; where some of them who had been known to have great Estates, as Sir *Paul Pindar* and others, were forced to end their Lives.

THERE were very few Circumstances in the late King's Misfortunes, which gave him more Trouble, or so much afflicted him as the Sense He had of the horrid and unjust Sufferings those poor Gentlemen underwent for him, and their Affection for his Service; which He often publicly mentioned, and as often declared, "that He held himself obliged to make "them full Reparation as soon as God should enable "him." And He frequently spake to the Chancellor, who was then Chancellor of the Exchequer, of that Affair; of the good Opinion He had of the Men, and of the great Services They had done for his Majesty; and commanded him expressly, when it should fall within his Power, He should do them all the Right He could. And of this He had often informed his Majesty

Majesty during the Time He was abroad, and after his Return, without any other Motive than his Father's Command and his own Honour, having himself never had any Degree of Friendship with any of the Persons concerned, and a very ordinary Acquaintance with some of them. Upon his Majesty's happy Return, those Gentlemen who were alive of the old Farmers, who were Sir *John Jacob*, Sir *Job Harby*, Sir *Nicholas Crispe* and Sir *John Harrison*, applied themselves to the King, having lain several Years and at that Time remaining in Execution in several Prisons, and having had their Estates sold, upon the Prosecution of those Creditors to whom They were bound for Money lent to his Majesty.

As soon as Measures were taken for collecting the Revenue, those four Gentlemen named before, and two others who had served his Majesty very well, were appointed his Commissioners for the collecting the Customs and Duties upon Trade; in which Collection They continued a Year or thereabouts; during which Time many of their Creditors, who had generously forbore to prosecute them whilst They were in Prison and undone, begun now to commence their Actions against them, presuming They were then or would shortly be able to satisfy them. Whereupon the King commanded the Lord Treasurer and the Chancellor, with some other Lords to send for those Creditors, and to declare to them, "that his Majesty would in a short Time enable his Farmers to pay their just Debts, which He well knew were contracted for his Service; and that He would take it very well from them, if They would for the present give no Obstruction to his Service, by the Prosecution of those Persons at Law, whose Time was solely taken up in the necessary Service of his Majesty." Whereupon They willingly desisted from that Prosecution; and many of them finding now, that by his Majesty's Favour They were like to recover their Debts They before thought to be desperate, They frankly remitted
the

the Whole or Part of the Interest, that in Strictness of Law was still due to them.

HIS Majesty shortly after, finding it best for his Profit to determine the Collection by Commission, and to let the whole to Farm, gave Direction to the Lord Treasurer to confer and treat with any fit Persons who desired to contract for the same. Many Overtures were made by several Persons, and some⁽⁴⁸⁾ applied themselves directly to his Majesty. Upon which, and after a competent Time in considering all that had been proposed, the King appointed a Day, when He would be attended by the Lord Treasurer and other of the Lords, and when all the Pretenders should likewise be present, and He would then and there declare his own Judgment; having first declared to the Commissioners, whereof four were the old Farmers to whom such Money was due, “that whosoever should take the Farm, They should be obliged to pay them their just Debt at such Times, and by such Proportions, as his Service could bear. But as to the letting the Farm itself, He would neither consider the Debt He owed them, nor the Sufferings They had undergone, but only the Rent They should offer; which if as much as any Body else would give, He would prefer their Persons before others; but if any other fit Men would offer more than They thought fit to give, They should be his Farmers: And therefore wished them well to consider what They would propose to him.”

AFTER two Days spent by his Majesty with the several Pretenders apart, and finding that the Propositions made to him by the old Farmers, with whom the other two were to be joined who had served with them as Commissioners, were at least as much if not more for his Profit than any that had been made by any of the rest; He did declare, that the Farm should be let to those who had been his Commissioners: Which at that Time was understood to be so far from being a good Bargain, that the two Commissioners, who were

not

not concerned in the great Debt, utterly refused to meddle with the Farm at so great a Rent; the other four publicly declaring at the same Time, "that They would not give the Rent but in Contemplation of their Debt, which They thought They should sooner and better receive, when it should be assigned upon their own Collections, than when it should be charged upon new Farmers." But They were Suitors to his Majesty, that He would oblige the other two (Sir *John Wolstenholme* and Sir *John Shaw*) to be joint Farmers with them; which his Majesty did, by making a gracious Promise to them, "that if They should be Losers He would repair them." And thereupon Directions were given to Mr. Attorney General to prepare a Grant accordingly. And, He said, He did not know that there was one dissenting Voice from what his Majesty inclined to do upon the whole Matter, the same appearing to every Man to be most just and reasonable.

THE Farm being thus settled, the old Farmers were directed "to bring their Accompts to the Lord Treasurer and Chancellor of the Exchequer, by which it should manifestly appear how much the King was justly and truly indebted to them, and how the Debts were incurred; that so upon a just Computation such Satisfaction might be made to them as was consistent with the present State of his Majesty's Affairs and Occasions." Many Months, if not a whole Year, were spent in the Examination of those Accompts before the Auditors: Who, besides the Exceptions They took for Want of some Formalities in the Proof of some Money paid, which after twenty Years of License (in which all their Books and Papers had been taken, their Houses plundered, and their Persons imprisoned; and in which so many Persons employed by the King to receive and by them to pay Money were dead) could hardly be made with the usual Exactness; made likewise several Certificates of particular Cases, which required farther Directions. And the
Lord

Lord Treasurer would never take upon himself to give those Directions, only declaring to them, as He had frequently done, “ that in Regard his Majesty was not “ strictly bound in Justice to pay that Debt due from “ his Father, but that his present Majesty’s generous “ and Royal Disposition had prevailed with him to “ pay that just Debt, whereby They might be preserved from Ruin, in which,” He said, “ He had “ fully concurred with his Majesty; but that He “ would never advise him, on the Contrary He would “ always dissuade his Majesty from paying or allowing “ any Interest, though paid by them, which would “ swell the Debt to such a Proportion, that his Majesty could never undertake the Payment of it.” Which Determination, how great soever their Loss appeared to be, seemed to be so just, at least so necessary for the King, that They wholly referred it to his Majesty; hoping that it might prevail with many of their Creditors not to exact it from them, though the Sale of their whole Estates had made Satisfaction to others for the whole Interest, as well as for the Principal.

WHEN the Auditors Certificate was ready, and all the Doubts and Questions that did arise thereupon were clearly stated, his Majesty vouchsafed again to be present with the other Lords, who had from the Beginning assisted in the Examination of that Business: And then the Lord Treasurer declared to his Majesty, what He had before said to the Persons concerned, “ that “ though He willingly approved his Majesty’s Goodness in taking upon himself that great Debt, yet that “ He would by no Means give his Advice or Consent “ that He should pay or allow any Interest for it.”

UPON the whole Matter, and upon all the Doubts stated to his Majesty, and after the Rejection of several of the Sums of Money which were demanded by them, and for the Payment whereof such direct Proof was not made as is required by the Course of the Exchequer (though, He said, He thought most Persons who were present were in their private Consciences well satisfied,

that

that those Sums had been in Truth paid to his Majesty's Use, as had been alledged); there appeared to his Majesty to be justly due to them the Sum of two hundred thousand Pounds, Principal-Money, for almost twenty Years, and for which They had paid the Interest for many Years out of their own Estates. And his Majesty thought it very just; and, with many gracious Expressions of his Purpose and Resolution further to repair them as He should be able, gave Order to the Lord Treasurer, "that the said Debt of two hundred thousand Pounds should be paid to them in five Years, that is, by forty thousand Pounds for every Year, out of the Rent of the Farm; and that all Instruments necessary for their Satisfaction and Security should be presently given to them, whereby They might be able to comply with their Creditors, and avoid their Importunity," wherewith his Majesty begun to be troubled as much as themselves.

He did confess himself to have been present at those Agitations, and to have contributed his humble Advice and Opinion to his Majesty that He should pay this Debt; which He thought himself obliged to do, as well as a faithful Counsellor to his present Majesty, as in Discharge of his Duty and Obligation to his Father. And, He said, He had very good Reason to believe, that if that two hundred thousand Pounds be paid according to his Majesty's Direction, and of which the Heirs and Executors of those Farmers who are dead, as well as the four present Farmers, have their equal Proportions; the said Persons have not at this Day Half the Estates They had in the Year 1640, when They entered into those Engagements for his Majesty. Nor was there any one Person present at the Agitation of this Affair, who seemed in the least Degree to differ in the Opinion, or to dissuade his Majesty from giving that Satisfaction for that Debt.

He said, He did likewise very willingly confess, that He had in the Manner aforesaid, and being called to advise, given his Opinion for the Payment of many other

other considerable Debts incurred by his late Majesty, and for which many Persons of Honour, who adhered to him during that War, were personally bound for him, and whose Estates had been extended and their Persons imprisoned for the same; many of whom were in Execution and in Prison for the same when his Majesty returned, and others were then sued in *Westminster-Hall*, in his Majesty's own Courts. His late Majesty having granted under his Great Seal of *England*, to several Persons intrusted for the rest, many of his Forests, Parks and other Lands, for their Security and Indemnity who were or should stand bound for him, for Money that was then borrowed for and applied to the necessary Support of himself and his Army, and to no other Purpose; in that Grant He had been particularly trusted, as well by the Desire of the Persons particularly concerned, as by his Majesty's Command to be solicitous for their Satisfaction. And He did not deny, that He was never more glad, than when He was able to procure Satisfaction for those Persons who were so bound and so secured; nor more troubled, than that He could do no more, and that there remained still so many unsatisfied, and almost undone, for those Debts so contracted; of which Number He believed there were still too many.

BUT having made those clear Confessions of what was Truth, and what He did do in those Transactions, He said, He must as positively deny, that ever He procured or advised the letting his Majesty's Customs, or any other Part of his Revenue, at Underrates: On the Contrary, that He used all the Ways He could to advance the Rents, without Respect of Persons; and that He was never present at the letting any Farm that any Men would have given more for, than They did to whom it was let, what Offers soever were made afterwards, when his Majesty himself had made a Contract, and when a Grant was issued accordingly under the great Seal of *England*. And He did as positively deny, that ever He received or expected the least Sum

of

of Money, or Money-worth, for any Lease made by his Majesty of his Customs, or any other Part of his Revenue; or for the Payment of any one Debt made by his Majesty, to which He was or was not bound: He having (He said) never had any other Motive for the Performance of those Offices, but the pure and entire Consideration of his Majesty's Honour, Justice and Profit, and his own Inclination to gratify worthy Persons, who in Justice ought to be or might with Justice be gratified and obliged, and who had commonly been such Persons to whom He had had no Kind of Obligation.

THE SEVENTH Article was, *That He had received* The seventh great Sums of Money from the Company of Vintners, or Article. *some of them or their Agents, for enhancing the Prices of Wines, and for freeing them from the Payment of legal Penalties which They had incurred.*

HE said, if He had been in the least Degree guilty His Answer, of that Charge, it would very easily have been proved; and the Vintners would very gladly have helped them in it, being Persons who never thought themselves beholden to him, and so not obliged to conceal any of his Corruptions. They well knew, that He could never be prevailed with to consent to the enhancing the Prices of their Wines, and that He never had received from them the least Sum of Money, or other Gratuity from them, in his Life. He said, He did remember, that at a Time when his Majesty had refused to grant all their other Petitions, the Company of Vintners did complain, "that there were so many Informations against them prosecuted by Informers in the Exchequer, that They must give over their Trades, and be likewise undone, if They should be severely pursued for what was past:" And therefore They besought his Majesty in Council, "that He would pardon what was past; and that for the future They would trespass no more." Whereupon his Majesty thought it worthy of his Mercy to shelter them for the present from that Prosecution; and thereupon commanded

manded his Attorney General “to call the Informers “before him, and to appoint the Vintners to pay them “such reasonable Rewards for their Pains as He “thought fit; and thereupon He should enter a *Noli “Prosequi*.” But his Majesty charged them “for the “future not to run into the same Danger.” And as this Grace from his Majesty was not upon his Promotion, but purely from his own Bounty and Goodness, from which Nobody dissuaded him; so He never received least Profit from the same.

*The eighth
Article.*

THE EIGHTH is, *That He had in a short Time gained to himself a far greater Estate, than can be imagined to be lawfully gained in so short a Time; and contrary to his Oath He had procured several Grants under the Great Seal from his Majesty, to himself and to his Relations, of several of his Majesty's Lands, Hereditaments and Leases, to the Disprofit of his Majesty.*

His Answer.

To this He said, that He wished with all his Heart, that the Truth of that Article (which He presumed had drawn on all the rest) were clearly known to all the World: And that They, who in Truth do believe that He hath so great an Estate, were well informed what it is; and They would then clearly discern that He needed not be ashamed of having gotten such an Estate, nor that He needed to have any Recourse to any ill Arts or Means for the obtaining thereof. They would know, that He had been so far from *procuring several Grants under the Great Seal of England from his Majesty, to himself and his Relations, of several of his Majesty's Lands, Hereditaments and Leases, to the Disprofit of his Majesty*; that He never moved his Majesty in his Life for any one Grant to himself or any of his Relations. If his Majesty's Royal Bounty had disposed him to confer Somewhat of Benefit and Advantage upon an old Servant, who had waited upon his Father and himself near thirty Years in some Trust and Employment; He said, He hoped it should not be imputed as a Crime in him to receive his Favours.

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He was far from believing or imagining, that the poor Services He had ever done, or could do, were in any Degree proportionable to his Majesty's Bounty: Yet since his Majesty's Goodness had thought him fit for it, He hoped many others would think so too; at least as fit as some Men, who had received greater Marks and Proportions of it than He had done, and who, though They might serve much better, had not served so long.

He said, He forbore to enlarge upon that Charge, because He conceived that it was now evident to many, who had been wrought upon by those who did not believe it themselves, to think his Estate to be very great, that the Information They received was without Ground: And whoever considers, that the first Year after the King's Return yielded justly more Profit to the Great Seal than He ever received in all the Years following, and some particular Acts of Bounty conferred on him by his Majesty, without the least Suit from him, and unthought of by him, will believe that his Fault was greater in having no better an Estate, than that what He hath been gotten by Corruption. He said, He hath none of his Majesty's Lands, but what He had bought, for as much as any Body would pay for it, of those who had the same granted to them by his Majesty's Bounty, and that Grant confirmed to them by Act of Parliament. And He presumed that it could not have fallen from his Majesty's Memory, and was so) sure was well known to some Persons of Honour yet alive, that when his Majesty was graciously pleased, upon his first coming over, to offer him some Land that had never yielded any Thing to the Crown, He absolutely refused to receive it, because it was generally thought to be of great Value; and therefore He would not expose himself to the Envy which naturally attends those Donations, having in Truth never had an immoderate Appetite *to make Haste to be rich*; and had as much apprehended the being accused of Witchcraft or Burglary, as of Bribery and Corruption.

IN a Word: He did declare, that, his Debts being discharged, for which He paid Interest, all his Estate was not worth, being sold, the Money that He had received from his Majesty's own Royal Bounty, and far from being suitable to the Quality He yet held, and which was never obtained by his own Ambition, as many Persons of Honour could testify.

*The ninth
Article.*

THE NINTH Article was, *That He had introduced an arbitrary Government in his Majesty's foreign Plantations; and had caused such as complained thereof before his Majesty and his Council, to be long imprisoned for so doing.*

His Answer.

To this He said, that though He could not possibly comprehend the full Meaning of that Article, yet because He had heard of many Discourses made of the Authority that He assumed to himself over the Plantations, and the great Advantage and Benefit that He had drawn to himself from thence, He was very willing to take that Occasion to relate all that He knew, and all that He had done, with Reference to any of his Majesty's Plantations; declaring in the first Place, that at his Majesty's Return, and before, He had used all the Endeavours He could to prepare and dispose the King to a great Esteem of his Plantations, and to encourage the Improvement of them by all the Ways that could reasonably be proposed to him. And He had been confirmed in that Opinion and Desire, as soon as He had a View of the Entries in the Customhouse; by which He found what a great Revenue accrued to the King from those Plantations, in so much as the Receipts from thence had upon the Matter repaired the Decrease and Diminution of the Customs, which the late Troubles had brought upon other Parts of Trade, from what it had formerly yielded.

THE first Consideration that offered itself before the King that related to the Plantations, was concerning the *Barbadoes*; which having been most discoursed of since, and, as He had heard, with some Reflections upon

upon him of Partiality and Injustice, He said, He would in the first Place set down all He knew in that Affair, and how He came to meddle in it.

BEFORE the Beginning of the late Troubles, the King had granted the Island of the *Barbadoes* to the Earl of *Carlisle* and his Heirs for ever, upon a Supposition that it had been first discovered, possessed and planted at his Charge: And the said Earl sent a Governour and People thither, and enjoyed it to his Death; and by his Will settled it for the Payment of his Debts, which were very great. The Troubles falling out in a short Time after, little or no Profit had been drawn from thence towards the Satisfaction of those Debts; and the Executors and Trustees totally neglected the taking Care of it, or prosecuting the Plantation. But in and after the War many Citizens, Merchants and Gentlemen, who were willing or forced to withdraw themselves from *England*, transported themselves thither, and planted without asking any Body's Leave, and without being opposed or contradicted by any Body.

ABOUT the Year 1647, or thereabouts, the late Earl of *Carlisle*, Son and Heir of the former Earl, to whom the Inheritance of that Island belonged, treated (491) with the late Lord *Willoughby* of *Parham*, how that Island might be so husbanded, that the Plantation might be advanced, and Profit made by it; which would at last redound to himself, when the Debt should be paid. The late King was then in the Hands of the Army: And with his Majesty's Approbation and Consent, it was agreed between the said Earl and the said Lord, "that a Lease should be
 "made by the Earl of *Carlisle* to the Lord *Willoughby*,
 "of all the Profits which should arise out of that Plantation, for the Term of twenty-one Years or thereabouts; a Moiety of the whole Profits to be received by the Lord *Willoughby* himself for his own Use, in Recompense for his Pains and Charge.
 "And He was likewise to receive a Commission from
 C c 2 " the

“the said Earl, to be Governour of that and the rest
“of the *Caribbee Islands*” (all which were comprehended in the Charter granted by the King to the Earl of *Carlisle*); “and that a Commission should be
“likewise procured from the King or the Prince of
“*Wales*, by which the Lord *Willoughby* was to be
“constituted Governour of the said Islands.”

ABOUT that Time the Fleet in the *Downs* returned to their Obedience to the King, withdrawing themselves to the Coast of *Holland* to offer their Service to the Prince of *Wales*, his Majesty that now is; the Lord *Willoughby* then likewise coming over to him, to serve him in any Condition his Highness would employ him in. That Summer being passed without any good Success, the Lord *Willoughby* then informed the Prince of what had passed between the Earl of *Carlisle* and him with the King his Father's Consent; which his Highness had likewise received from his Majesty himself, with much Recommendation of the Lord *Willoughby*. He said, He was then attending upon the Prince of *Holland*, as one of the King's Council assigned by his Majesty for that Service. Upon the understanding this whole Case, the Prince, upon the unanimous Advice of the Council, thought fit to grant such a Commission of Governour of the *Barbadoes* and the other Islands, as He desired: And He had the more Reason to desire it (notwithstanding the Earl of *Carlisle's* Grant and Commission), because the principal Planters upon the *Barbadoes* had been Officers in the King's Army, or of manifest Affections to him, and always looked upon as of his Party.

WITH this Commission the Lord *Willoughby* had, at his great Charge and Expence, transported himself to the *Barbadoes*, and was there received as Governour; and made a Contract with the Planters, “that
“so much should be paid upon the Hundred to the
“Earl of *Carlisle*,” to whom the Propriety of the Whole belonged. But before this Agreement could be well executed, or any Profit drawn from thence,

the Island was reduced to the Obedience of the Parliament and of *Cromwell*, and a Governour appointed by them; the Lord *Willoughby* being sent into *England*, where He remained till the King's Return, and had given unquestionable Evidence of his Affection to the King's Service, for which He had often been committed to Prison before and after *Cromwell's* Death.

(492) As soon as the King returned, the Lord *Willoughby* (who had then eight or nine Years to come of his Lease formerly granted to him by the Earl of *Carlisle*, who was then likewise living, and ready to do any other Act to the Lord *Willoughby's* Advantage) resolved to return himself to the *Barbadoes*, and desired the King to renew his Commission to him for the Government; which his Majesty was very willing to do, as to a Person He esteemed very much, and who had spent very much of his own Fortune, as was notoriously known, in that Service. But the *Barbadoes* and all those other Islands were now become of another Consideration and Value, than they had been of before the Troubles: The *Barbadoes* itself was (by that Confluence and Resort thither as was mentioned before) so fully planted, that there was no Room for new Comers, and They had sent very many of their People to the other Islands to plant; many Citizens of *London* had raised very great Estates there, and every Year received a very great Revenue from thence; and the King's Customs from that one Island came to a very great Sum of Money yearly.

ALL these Men, who had entered upon that Plantation as a waste Place, and had with great Charge brought it to that Perfection, and with great Trouble, begun now to apprehend, that They must depend upon the Good-Will of the Earl of *Carlisle* and Lord *Willoughby* for the Enjoyment of their Estates there, which They had hitherto looked upon as their own. All these Men joined together in an Appeal to the King, and humbly prayed "his Protection, and that

“ They might not be oppressed by those two Lords.” They pleaded, “ that They were the King’s Subjects; “ that They had repaired thither as to a desolate “ Place, and had by their Industry obtained a Live- “ lihood there, when They could not with a good “ Conscience stay in *England*. That if They should “ be now left to those Lords to ransom themselves “ and compound for their Estates, They must leave “ the Country; and the Plantation would be de- “ stroyed, which yielded his Majesty so good a Re- “ venue. That They could defend themselves by “ Law against the Earl of *Carlisle*’s Title, if his Ma- “ jesty did not countenance it by a new Grant of the “ Government to the Lord *Willoughby*: And there- “ fore They were Suitors to his Majesty, that He “ would not destroy them by that Countenance.”

At the same Time, the Creditors of the late Earl of *Carlisle* (whose Debts were to be satisfied by the Profits of that Plantation, by the Will and Settlement of the said Earl) petitioned the King, “ that They might “ be in the first Place provided for: Their Principal- “ Money due to them at the Death of the Earl “ amounted to no less than fifty thousand Pounds, of “ which They had never yet received one Penny; “ and therefore that the Profits which should arise “ ought in the first Place to be applied to them, “ there having been many Families utterly ruined for “ Want of their Monies so due to them.” The King appointed to hear all their several Pretences at the Council-Board, where They all attended with their Council: And after his Majesty had spent three or four Days himself in hearing the several Allegations, finding new Pretences and Difficulties every Day to arise (which shall be mentioned anon), the King appointed several of the Lords of the Council “ to con- “ sider of the whole Matter, and to confer with the “ several Parties, and, if it were possible, to make “ an End between them by their own Consent; other- “ wise to report the several Titles to his Majesty, “ with

“ with such Expedients as in their Judgments They
 “ thought most like to produce a general Satisfac-
 “ tion, without endangering the Plantation,” the
 Preservation whereof his Majesty took to Heart. The
 Chancellor was one of that Committee, and took very
 much Pains in reading the Charters, Grants and
 Leases, and many other Papers and Dispatches which
 concerned that Affair; and conferred with several of
 the Persons interested; to the End that He might
 the better discern what could be done, having never
 understood or heard any Thing of the Matter, or
 that concerned that Plantation, otherwise than what
 He hath before set down upon the Dispatch of the
 Lord *Willoughby* to *Holland*; nor had He the least In-
 clination or Bias to any Party. Upon the hearing all
 the Allegations before the Lords, the several Pre-
 tensions and Titles appeared to them to be these;
 which They afterwards reported to the King.

(493) THE Lord *Willoughby* demanded Nothing from the
 King, but his Commission to be Governour for the
 Remainder of the Years which had been granted to
 him by the Earl of *Carlisle*; to the End that He
 might receive one Moiety of those Profits which
 should arise to the Earl, and which had been assigned
 to him with the Consent and Approbation of the late
 King, and of his Majesty that now is; upon which
 He had undertaken that Voyage, and spent so much
 of his Estate.

THE Earl of *Carlisle*, whilst this Contention was
 depending, died, and by his Will devised his Interest
 in the *Barbadoes* to the Earl of *Kinnoul*, who likewise
 petitioned the King for the Preservation of his Right:
 But neither He, nor the Person under whom He
 claimed, had any Pretence till all the Debts should
 be satisfied; nor did the Earl of *Kinnoul* demand any
 Thing till then, but believed the Profit would arise
 yearly to so much, that the Debts would quickly be
 satisfied, and then the Whole was to come to him.

THERE was another Title that preceded the Earl of *Carlisle's*, which was that of the Earl of *Marlborough*, who alledged, and proved it to be true, “ that “ the *Barbadoes* and those adjacent Islands were first “ granted by the King to his Grandfather the Earl of “ *Marlborough*, who was then Lord High Treasurer “ of *England*, before the Earl of *Carlisle* had any Pre- “ tence thereunto; and that the Lord Treasurer had “ afterwards consented that the same should be “ granted to the Earl of *Carlisle*, upon a full Con- “ tract, *that He should first receive for ever the Sum of “ three hundred Pounds by the Year out of the first Profits “ of the Plantations*; which Sum of three hundred “ Pounds had never been yet paid: And therefore “ the Earl of *Marlborough* desired, as Heir to his “ Grandfather, to have Satisfaction for the Arrears, “ and that the growing Rent might be secured to “ him.”

THE Creditors were of two Kinds: The first, and who had first petitioned the King, as was said before, had an Assignment made to them by the Executors and Trustees of the Earl of *Carlisle* upon his Will, and who at his Death owed them the full Sum of fifty thousand Pounds or thereabouts. The other Creditors consisted of several Tradesmen and Artificers, to whom the said Earl was indebted for Wares and Goods which They had delivered for his Use; and of several Servants for their Arrears of Wages: And all those had, during the late Troubles, exhibited their Bill in Chancery against the Executors and Overseers of the late Earl, and had obtained a Decree in that Court for their Satisfaction out of the Profits of those Plantations (which Decree stood confirmed by the late Act of Judicial Proceedings); and, as He remembered, their Debts amounted to thirty thousand Pounds or thereabout. None of the Creditors in general, of one or the other Sort, had ever received one Shilling from the Time that the Earl had first assigned it.

THE Planters insisted positively, "that the Charter granted to the Earl of *Carlisle* by the King was void in Point of Law:" For which their Council alledged many Reasons. And having spent much Time upon that Argumentation, They concluded with two humble Propositions to the King. (1.) "That his Majesty would give them Leave to prosecute in his Name in the Exchequer, and at their own Charge, to repeal that Grant to the Earl of *Carlisle*; by which They should be freed from the arbitrary Power and Oppression which would be exercised upon them under the Colour of that Charter, and his Majesty might receive a great Benefit to himself, by taking the Sovereignty into his own Hands, to which it belonged. And in that Case They offered in their own Names, and for the rest of the Planters who were in the Island, to consent to an Imposition of so much in the Hundred, which They confidently averred would amount in the Year to ten thousand Pounds at the least; out of which his Majesty's Governour might be well supported, and his Majesty dispose of the Overplus as He should think fit." (2.) "If his Majesty would not suffer the Charter to be repealed, that He would leave those who claimed under the Earl of *Carlisle's* Patent to their Remedy at Law, and leave the Planters to their own Defence; which They hoped in Justice could not be denied to them, since They alone had been at the Charge to settle the Plantation, which brought every Year so great a Revenue to the Crown, when the Earl had not been at the least Expence thereupon: And if his Majesty should not assist their Pretences with his Royal Authority, They must all quit the Plantation."

THESE being the several Pretences of the several Persons, and Nothing being to be done by Agreement between themselves, their Interests being so distinct and inconsistent with each other; his Majesty thought fit, in the first Place, to refer the Consideration

tion of the Validity and Legality of the Patent to his Council at Law; who, upon full Deliberation and after the Hearing of all Parties, returned their Opinion "that their Patent was void, and that his Majesty might take the same into his own Power." This Report was no sooner made to his Majesty, but that He very graciously declared, "that He would not receive from hence any Benefit or Advantage to himself, until all their Pretences had received Satisfaction; and that He would make no farther Use of avoiding the said Charter, than to dispose the Profits of the Plantation to those, who in Justice had any Pretence in Law or Equity to receive the same: And therefore that the Lord *Willoughby* should proceed in his Voyage to the *Barbadoes*, and should receive according to his Bargain a Moiety of the Profits; and that the other Part should be disposed of for the Satisfaction of the Debts and other Incumbrances." In Order to which, his Majesty appointed the same Committee of the Lords to meet again, and to adjust the several Proportions.

WHEN They met again, They had all the Persons concerned with them, or ready to be called in upon any Occasion; and They all appeared very glad that the King had taken the Care and Protection of the Plantation upon himself, which was all the Security the Planters had or could desire. And the Lords first Care was, to make some Computation that might be depended upon, as the yearly Revenue that would arise upon the Imposition within the Island. But the Planters would not be drawn to any particular Agreement in that Point, not so much as to consent to what should be imposed upon every Hundred; but on the Contrary declared, "that too much had been undertaken in that Kind by one of their own Number, Mr. *Kendall*, in his Discourse before the King in the Council," and declared "that the Plantation could not bear the Imposition He had mentioned. That whatsoever was to be done of that Nature was

“ to be transacted by an Assembly in the Island : And
“ that all that They could promise for themselves
“ was, that They would use their utmost Endeavours
“ with their Friends in the Island, that when the Lord
“ *Willoughby* should arrive there and call an Assembly,
“ They should consent to as great an Imposition as
“ the Plantation would bear ; by which,” They said,
“ a good Revenue would arise to the King for the
“ Purposes aforesaid.”

THE Creditors had great Reason to be glad of the Resolution his Majesty had taken : For though it would be a long Time before They could be fully satisfied out of a Moiety of the Profits, though it should arise to the highest Computation, yet in Time They should receive all, and should every Year receive some ; which would lessen their Debt, and relieve those who were in the highest Necessities, of which there was a great Number. Whereas They had hitherto in so many Years received not one Penny : And it was evident, that without his Majesty’s Authority They never should, since the Planters were resolved never to consent to any Imposition, nor submit to any Authority that should be exercised under the Earl of *Carlisle’s* Patent, without a due Course of Law ; the Way to obtain which would be very difficult to find out. And They understood well enough, that, without his Majesty’s Grace and Bounty to them, the Repeal or avoiding the Earl of *Carlisle’s* Patent would put a quick End to all their Pretences.

THE greatest Difficulty that did arise was from the Earl of *Kinnoul*, to whom the last Earl of *Carlisle* had devised these Islands by his Will : And He had a great Mind to go thither himself, and take Possession of his Right ; and his Council had persuaded him, “ that
“ the King’s Charter granted to the first Earl of *Carlisle* was good and valid in Law, and that They believed They could defend and maintain it in any
“ Court of Justice.” Then his own Estate in *Scotland* was so totally lost by the Iniquity of the Time, and his

his Father's having so frankly declared himself for the King, when very few of that Nation lost any Thing for their Loyalty, that He had very little left to support himself; and therefore was willing to retire into any Place abroad, where He might find but a bare Subsistence. But when He considered again, that He could have no Pretence to any Thing till after the Creditors were fully satisfied, and how long it was like to be before They could be satisfied, there remaining still due to the Creditors of Both Kinds no less than fourscore thousand Pounds, Principal-Money; He did not believe that his insisting upon the Patent would be worth the Charge and Hazard He must inevitably be put to: And therefore, upon farther Deliberation with his Friends, He willingly referred himself and all his Interest to the King's gracious Determination, as all the rest of the Pretenders and interested Persons had done.

THE Case being thus fully stated to the Lords, and every Man's Interest and Pretence clearly appearing before them, They considered seriously amongst themselves what They might reasonably propose to the several Persons, in Order to their Agreement amongst themselves; or, that proving ineffectual, what Advice They might reasonably give his Majesty. They were unanimously of Opinion, "not to advise his Majesty to cause the Patent to be called in Question: For though They doubted not, upon the Opinion of his learned Council, that the same would be judged void and illegal; yet They did not think it a seasonable Time, when the Nation was so active and industrious in foreign Plantations, that They should see a Charter or Patent questioned and avoided, after it hath been so many Years allowed and countenanced, and under which it hath so long flourished, and was almost grown to Perfection. And that since his Majesty had declared, *that, notwithstanding any Right of his own, all possible Care should be taken for the Satisfaction of the Creditors,*

"as

“as well as for the Preservation and Support of the
“Plantation; it would be equally equitable and ho-
“nourable in his Majesty, not to leave the Earl of
“Kinnoul the only Person unconsidered, and bereaved
“of all his Pretence. But that They would humbly
“move his Majesty, that He would graciously vouch-
“safe to assign some present Maintenance to the said
“Earl, which his unhappy Condition required, out
“of the Revenue that should be there settled, and
“until the Debts should be paid; and that after that
“Time such an Augmentation might be made to
“him, as his Majesty in his Royal Bounty should
“think fit: In Consideration whereof, the Earl should
“procure the Patent to be brought in and surrender-
“ed;” which He promised should be done accord-
“ingly, as soon as the Settlement should be made of
“that Proportion which should be assigned to him.

“THAT the Lord *Willoughby* should enjoy the Be-
“nefit of his former Contract with the Earl of *Carlisle*,
“and approved by his Majesty, during the Remain-
“der of those Years which are not yet expired; that
“He should make what Haste He could thither, and
“call an Assembly, to the End that such an Imposi-
“tion might be agreed upon to be paid to his Ma-
“jesty as should be reasonable, in Consideration of
“the great Benefit They had already and should still
“enjoy, in being continued and secured in their se-
“veral Plantations, in which as yet They were as it
“were but Tenants at Will, having no other Pre-
“tence of Right but the Possession: And therefore,
“that those Merchants and Planters who had peti-
“tioned the King should, according to their Obliga-
“tion and Promise made by them to his Majesty,
“use all their Credit with those in the Island, that the
“Imposition might arise to such a Proportion, that
“the Revenue might answer the Ends proposed; and
“that one Moiety of that Revenue should be enjoyed
“by the Lord *Willoughby* for his Term.”

“THAT

“ THAT the Annuity of three hundred Pounds by
 “ the Year should be paid to the Earl of *Marlborough*,
 “ according to the original Contract mentioned be-
 “ fore; and that the Assignment, that his Majesty
 “ would likewise be pleased to make to the Earl of
 “ *Kinnoul*, should be first paid: And then that the
 “ Remainder of that Moiety should be received to the
 “ Use of the Creditors. And that when the Lord
 “ *Willoughby's* Term should be expired, his Majesty
 “ should be desired, after the Reservation of so much
 “ as He should think fit for the Support of his Go-
 “ vernour, that all the Remainder might be conti-
 “ nued towards the Creditors, until their just Debts
 “ should be paid.”

THESE Particulars appearing reasonable to the
 Lords, all Persons concerned were called, and the
 same communicated to them, who appeared all well
 contented: And thereupon the Lords resolved to pre-
 sent the same to his Majesty, which They did accord-
 ingly at the Board; and his Majesty with a full Ap-
 probation and Advice of the whole Council ratified
 the same. Whereupon that Order was made by the
 King in Council, which comprehends all the Particu-
 lars mentioned before; which was delivered to the
 Lord *Willoughby*, with his Majesty's express Com-
 mand, “ that He should see it punctually and pre-
 “ cisely executed;” and the like Order was delivered
 by the Clerk of the Council to every other Person
 mentioned, who desired the same: To which Order
 He did for the more Certainty refer himself, being
 in no Degree confident (having then no other Help
 than his Memory), that all was set down with that
 Exactness as it ought to be. And, He said, as He
 had throughout the whole Affair taken very great
 Pains to reduce it to that Agreement, which at that
 Time seemed to be satisfactory to all the Persons con-
 cerned, so He had not the least Temptation of parti-
 cular Benefit to himself; and He did still believe it
 to be very just, reasonable, and agreeable to his Ma-
 jesty's

jeſty's Juſtice and Goodneſs, all Circumſtances being conſidered. And though it may be, in Strictneſs of Law, and by the avoiding the Grant made to the Earl of *Carlisle*, his Maſteſty might have poſſeſſed himſelf of the whole Iſland, without any tender Conſideration of the Planters or the Creditors; He ſaid, He was not aſhamed that He had never given his Maſteſty that or the like Counſel, in that or any other Matter of the like Nature; and if He had, He was confident his Maſteſty would have abhorred it, and not have thought the better of him for giving it.

- 7) THE other Part of that Article, *That He had cauſed ſuch as complained of the arbitrary Government in the Plantations before the King and Council, to be long impriſoned for ſo doing*, did refer, He ſuppoſed, to the Commitment of one *Farmer*; who, being ſent over a Priſoner by the Lord *Willoughby* in a Ship that came from thence, made his Appearance at *Oxford*, his Maſteſty being then there in the Sickneſs-Time, which, He ſaid, was the firſt Moment that He had ever heard of the Man or the Matter. And at the ſame Time one of the Secretaries of State received a Letter from the Lord *Willoughby*, which was ſent by the ſame Ship, in which his Lordſhip had ſent a direct, full Charge of Mutiny, Sedition and Treason, againſt the ſaid *Farmer*; and by his Letter informed the Secretary of all his Behaviour and Carriage, with all the Circumſtances thereof; and “that He had, by his “ ſeditious Practices, prevailed ſo far upon a diſaffected “ Party in that Iſland, that the Lord *Willoughby* found “ himſelf obliged in the Inſtant to ſend him on Board “ the Ship, without which He did apprehend a general Revolt in the Iſland from his Maſteſty's Obedience:” And He did therefore deſire, “that *Farmer* might not be ſuffered to return thither before “ the Iſland ſhould be reduced to a better Temper.” The Man was called in before the King and Council, and the Charge that the Lord *Willoughby* had ſent read to him, the greateſt Part whereof He could not deny;

deny; and in his Discourse upon it He behaved himself so peremptorily and insolently before the King, that his Majesty thought it very necessary to commit him; nor did any one Counsellor then present appear to think otherwise.

AND He did confess, that the discharging him from his Imprisonment was some Time afterwards moved, and that He was always against his Discharge; being of Opinion that it would be impossible for the Lord *Willoughby*, or any other Governour in any of the Plantations, to preserve his Majesty's Right and to support the Government, if He should be so far discountenanced, that a Man, being sent over by him as a Prisoner under so particular and heinous a Charge, should be upon his Appearance here set at Liberty. But his Opinion was, "that He should be sent back " a Prisoner thither, that He might be tried by the " Law and Justice of the Island, and receive condign " Punishment for his Offence:" And, He said, He could not deny but that He was still of the same Opinion; and, if it were an Errour, it proceeded from the Weakness of his Understanding, which was not in his Power to reform.

He said, what He had here set down was all that occurred to his Memory with Reference to the Island of the *Barbadoes*, which being not particularly mentioned in the Article, but comprehended under the general Expression of his Majesty's foreign Plantations, and secretly and maliciously insinuated in private Discourses, He took himself to be obliged to give some Answer to what, how generally soever, had been charged. And He hoped it would not be imputed as a Crime to him, if He had taken more Pains than other Men in that important Service of his Majesty concerning his foreign Plantations, which He did not think had been enough taken to Heart: And if his Desire and Readiness to take any Pains, or give any Assistance to the Advancement of that Service, had induced many Persons to apply themselves

to him on those Occasions, He hoped it should not be charged upon him as Over-Activity, or Ambition to engross more Business into his Hands than He was entitled to; for which He had this Excuse to make for himself, that He found the Pains He took to be acceptable to his Majesty. And He was so far from having any particular Design of Advantage to himself, that He did profess and declare, that from all or any
 98) of his Majesty's Plantations He never had the least Reward, or least Present made to him; except that the now Lord *Willoughby* once told him, "that his
 " Brother had sent over some Pieces of the speckled
 " Wood which grows in *Surinam*, with Direction,
 " that if He liked it He might have what He would
 " of it;" whereupon He had some Pieces of it, which He thought might have been applied to the making of Cabinets or the adorning of Wainscot (but as they were very small, so the Middle of every Piece was wind-shaken and rotten, that they could not be applied to any considerable Use); and except some Blocks of Walnut-Tree which the Governour of *Virginia* sent to him, and of which He made some Table-Boards and Frames for Chairs; the Workmanship whereof cost much more than the Wood was worth. And these two Particulars contained all the Rewards and Presents or Profit, that ever He received from all his Majesty's Plantations, or any Body to his Use.

THE TENTH Article was, *That He did reject and* The tenth Article.
frustrate a Proposal and Undertaking approved by
his Majesty, for the Preservation of Nevis and
St. Christophers, and reducing the French Plan-
tations to his Majesty's Obedience, after the Com-
missions were drawn for that Purpose; which was
the Occasion of such great Losses and Damages in
those Parts.

To which He answered, that He never did reject His Answer.
 or frustrate any such Proposal or Undertaking, never taking upon him in the least Degree to make a Judgment of Enterprises of that Nature; nor was ever any

such Proposition made to him. But He did very well remember, that his Majesty himself did once deliver to the Council a Paper, which He said one of his Servants (Mr. *Marsh*) had presented to him, containing some Propositions for Ships and Men to be sent by his Majesty for the Recovery of *St. Christophers*, which had been newly taken by the *French*. Upon the reading which Paper and Propositions, the same were referred to the Consideration of the General, one of the Secretaries of State, and to the Vice-Chamberlain, who were to confer with Mr. *Marsh*, and such others as joined with him. And They were at the same Time appointed to consider of another Proposition delivered in Writing by the now Lord *Willoughby*, and some Merchants of *London* who were Planters in the *Barbadoes*, for the supplying and better securing that Island, and the rest of those *Caribbee* Islands; and for the reducing and recovering any of them which were or might be taken by the Enemy. Upon the latter of which Somewhat was afterwards done: And if the other concerning *Nevis* and *St. Christophers* was rejected, of which, He said, He knew Nothing, He presumed it was, because it either appeared unpracticable, or not consistent with his Majesty's other Affairs.

*The eleventh
Article.*

THE ELEVENTH Article was, *That He advised and effected the Sale of Dunkirk to the French King, being Part of his Majesty's Dominions, together with the Ammunition, Artillery, and all Sorts of Stores there; and for no greater Value than the said Ammunition, Artillery and Stores were worth.*

His Answer.

THIS whole Transaction of the Sale of *Dunkirk*, with all the Circumstances, is so fully related in this Discourse, in the Place and at the Time when this Affair was transacted *, that any Repetition here is to no Purpose: And whosoever turns back and reads it will clearly see, that He had no Hand in the Counsel; though He is far from condemning it, or believing that it was not necessary, as his Majesty's Affairs at

* Page 201, &c.

that Time stood. To which may be added, that the Treatment He received after his coming into *France* was an unquestionable Evidence, that the King did never take himself to be beholden to him for that or any other Service; as in Truth He never was.

THE TWELFTH Article was, *That He did unduly* The twelfth Article. *cause his Majesty's Letters Patents under the Great Seal of England to one Dr. Crowther to be altered, and the Enrollment thereof to be unduly razed.*

To which He said, that when He heard of this His Answer. Charge, He could not comprehend what the Meaning thereof was, being most assured that He had never caused any Alteration to be made in any of his Majesty's Letters Patents under the Great Seal, or the Enrollment thereof to be razed. But upon Inquiry He was informed, that Dr. Crowther, who was Chaplain to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, and had attended upon his Person during the whole Time that his Highness was beyond the Seas, upon his Majesty's Return into *England*, had obtained from the King his Royal Presentation to the Parsonage of *Treddington* in the County of *Worcester*; which Presentation, according to Course, passed under the Great Seal of *England*. That when He brought his Action against the Intruder, who refused to give him Possession, and the Record was carried down to the Assizes in the County; when the Doctor's Council were to open his Title, and thereupon to produce the King's Presentation, They found upon Perusal thereof, that either by Misinformation or Negligence of the Clerk, instead of the County of *Worcester*, where the Rectory was, the County of *Warwick* was inserted: Upon which Mistake the Doctor was necessitated to be nonsuited. And thereupon He forthwith made a Journey to *London* to advise with his Council, and the most experienced Clerks, how to recover the Misfortune that had befallen him, and that his Majesty's Right might not be destroyed by such an Oversight in the Clerk. And it seems He was by them advised, as the usual Way in

“ Cases of that Nature, to petition the King, that in
 “ his Majesty’s Presence the Presentation might be
 “ mended, and *Worcester* inserted instead of *Warwick*,
 “ and that thereupon the Great Seal might be again
 “ affixed to it;” all which was done accordingly, as
 in such Cases is usual.

*The thirteenth
 Article.*

THE THIRTEENTH Article was, *That He had in an arbitrary Way examined and drawn into Question divers of his Majesty’s Subjects concerning their Lands, Tenements, Goods and Chattels, and Properties; determined thereof at the Council-Table, and stopped Proceedings at Law, and threatened some that pleaded the Statute of 17 Car.*

His Answer.

To this He said, He must here again lament his own Misfortunes, that He was exposed to publick Reproach under a general odious Charge, without inserting any one Particular to which He might make his Defence. He had therefore no more to say, but that He was very innocent as to any Crime laid to his Charge in that Article: And that He had been so far from *examining and drawing into Question any of his Majesty’s Subjects concerning their Lands, Tenements, Goods and Chattels, and Properties, and determining the same at the Council-Table, and stopping Proceedings at Law*; that He did not know or believe, that any one Case of that Nature had been ever determined there, at least when He had been present. That He had always discountenanced such Addresses, and procured all Petitions of that Kind to be rejected as often as they have been rendered: And, He said, He took himself obliged to say, for the Vindication of his Majesty’s Honour and Justice, that there had not been so many Years passed, since the Erection of the Council-Table, with so little Disturbance or Disquiet to the Subjects concerning their Lands, Tenements, Goods and Properties, as have been since his Majesty’s happy Return; nor hath the ordinary Course of Proceedings at Law been less obstructed.

THE FOURTEENTH Article was, *That He had caused* ^{The fourteenth Article.} *Quo Warrantos to be issued out against most of the Corporations in England, to the Intent that He might receive great Sums of Money from them for renewing their Charters; which when They complied withal, He caused the said Quo Warrantos to be discharged, and Prosecution thereon to cease.*

To this He answered, That He never caused any ^{His Answer.} *Quo Warranto* to issue out against any one Corporation in England, but by his Majesty's express Command, or by Order of the Board; which was always upon some Miscarriage or Misbehaviour in the Corporation: And that He did not remember that He had ever moved the King against any particular Corporation but that of *Woodstock*; and which his Duty to his Majesty had obliged him to do, being intrusted by his Majesty with the Command of his House and Park there, and being his Majesty's Steward of his Majesty's Honour and Manor of *Woodstock*, upon which that Borough had always depended.

HE said, his Majesty having conferred that Charge upon him, He was no sooner possessed of it by the Death of the late Earl of *Lindsey*, who enjoyed that Place before, than He received a Petition from several Inhabitants and Burgeßes of the Borough of *Woodstock*, who complained, "that the Mayor and Justices had lately procured their Charter to be renewed, without the Privy or Consent of the Borough; and that under Pretence of renewing it, They had procured many new Clauses to be inserted, and thereby reduced much of the Government, which before depended on the whole Corporation, into their own Hands; and had thereby likewise procured a Piece of Ground, the Benefit whereof did formerly belong to all the Burgeßes, and was usually applied to the Relief of such of them who were decayed in their Estates, to be now granted to the Mayor and a select Number of the Justices, and the Profits thereof to be at their Disposal, to the great Prejudice of the

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" Borough

“Borough and the Inhabitants thereof.” He referred this Petition to Mr. Justice *Morton*, who lived within four or five Miles thereof, and desired him to examine the Truth of those Allegations, and to certify him whether the Complaints were just and reasonable. Whereupon He took the Pains to go to the Town, and to confer with the Mayor and Justices, and heard the Allegations of the Petitioners; and upon the whole Matter certified, “that He found several important Alterations in the new Charter from what had been in the old, and some new Concessions.”

AND at the same Time Sir *William Fleetwood*, who was Ranger of the Parks, certified him, “that since the renewing their Charter, the Mayor and Justices were not so good Neighbours to his Majesty’s Game as They had formerly been, and had withdrawn many of those Services which They had used to perform: And that when any Trespasses were committed by those of the Borough upon his Majesty’s Woods or Game, which happened very frequently, and Complaint was thereof made to the Mayor and Justices, who had the sole Jurisdiction within the Borough; there was so slight and perfunctory Examination thereof, that the Prosecutors were wearied out, and no Justice could be obtained.”

THAT it was his Duty to inform the King of those Proceedings, who was much offended thereat, and thereupon gave his Direction to his Attorney General to bring a *Quo Warranto*, and to repeal the Charter which had been so unduly procured, and in which his Majesty had been so grossly deceived and abused: And He did believe that there was the less Vigour used in the Prosecution of that *Quo Warranto*, because the Mayor and Justices for some Time had pretended that They would surrender the said Charter, and receive a new one in such a Manner as his Majesty thought fit, though They afterwards changed their Mind. And this was the only Charter, He said, which He gave Direction for the Prosecution of,

NOR did He ever give Order, upon the Receipt of any Money, *to discharge any Quo Warranto, or cause the Prosecution thereupon to cease*: Nor did He ever receive the least Sum of Money for the granting or renewing any Charter, other than the usual Fees received for the same by the Clerk of the *Hanaper*, and accounted to the Seal; which Fee, as He did remember, did amount to thirteen Shillings and four Pence, or thereabouts.

THE FIFTEENTH Article was, *That He procured*^{The fifteenth Article.} *the Bills of Settlement for Ireland, and received great Sums of Money for the same, in a most corrupt and unlawful Manner.*

To this Article needs no other Answer that what is^{His Answer.} contained in two † several Places of this Discourse, in which so full a Relation is made of the whole Settlement of *Ireland*, with all the Circumstances that accompanied it, that it would be to no Purpose to repeat it in this Place. And therein it appears what Money the Chancellor received from *Ireland*, and how He came to receive any, and by what Injustice He came to receive no more; all which was not only well known to the King himself, but to very many of those, who promoted the Accusation directly contrary to what They knew to be true.

THE SIXTEENTH Article was, *That He had de-*^{The sixteenth Article.} *luded and betrayed his Majesty and the Nation in all foreign Treaties and Negotiations relating to the late War.*

To which He said, that He did heartily wish that^{His Answer.} those particular Treaties, and the Particulars in those Treaties, had been mentioned, wherein it was conceived that He had deluded and betrayed his Majesty, that He might at large have set down whatsoever He had known or done in those Treaties; and then it would easily have been made appear, how far He had been from betraying or deluding him. That it was never any Ambition of his own that brought him to

† Page 106, &c., and Page 193, &c.

have a Part in any Treaty: He said, God knew, that He heartily wished to have meddled in Nothing but the Administration of that great Office the King had thought fit to have trusted him with. But his Majesty had then so good an Opinion of him, that He required and commanded his Service in many of those Treaties: And therefore it would be necessary for him according to the Method He had hitherto used, to mention every particular Treaty that had been entered into since the Time of his Majesty's Return into *England*, and the Part that He had in it; being as willing to be called to the strictest Account for any other Treaty He had been engaged in when He had been abroad, or for any Counsel He had ever given in his Life, publick or private; wherein, He doubted not, He should be found to have behaved himself (according to the weak Abilities God had given him) with Fidelity to his Master, and with all imaginable Affection to his Country, how unhappily soever He had been represented.

THE first Treaty, He said, was with the Crown of *Portugal*; in which He was none of the Commissioners who treated, and was only present when any Report was made by the Commissioners to the King, or to the Council-Board, where all the Articles were debated; and He did not remember that there had been any Difference of Opinion upon any of them: And that Treaty had been generally held the best that hath been made with any Crown, the Merchants having thereby greater Advantages in Trade than They have in any other Place, besides many other great Benefits, with a great Enlargement of his Majesty's Empire. (50

THE second Treaty was with the *States* of the *United Provinces*; in which likewise He was none of the Commissioners who treated: But all that was by them transacted was still brought to the Council-Board, and debated there in his Majesty's Presence; in which the Rule by which his Majesty guided himself was, that He would not remit any of those Concessions which

which had been formerly made by them in their last Treaty with *Cromwell*; and their Unwillingness to consent to that was the Reason that their Ambassadors proceeded so slowly. And his Majesty had the less Reason to be solicitous for Expedition, because the King of *France* had given his Royal Word, and proposed it himself, “that the two Crowns might proceed in the several Treaties with the *Dutch* together, that so They might be brought to those good Conditions, that They might live like good Neighbours with Both the Crowns, which,” He observed, “They were not naturally inclined to do;” and promised positively, “that for his Part He would not conclude any Thing with the *Dutch*, before He had entirely communicated the same to his Majesty.” Notwithstanding which Engagement, *France* entered into and finished their Treaty; and in it made that secret Article, which They declared afterwards to be the Ground of their Obligation to assist the *Dutch* in the ensuing War. However, his Majesty proceeded not till the *Holland* Ambassadors consented to all that had been before granted to *Cromwell*: Which being done, the Peace was made and ratified on Both Sides; and without Doubt was with more Advantage and Honour to the *English*, than ever had been provided by any former Treaty between the Crown of *England* and those *States*.

FROM the two Crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark* Ambassadors Extraordinary arrived at *London* shortly after the King's Return, and the several Treaties were made with Both those Crowns before the Departure of the Ambassadors: In neither of which Treaties the Chancellor was a Commissioner, nor knew any Thing that passed in either, but as it was represented at the Council-Board, and debated in his Majesty's Presence; nor did He ever hear that either of them was reckoned a disadvantageous Treaty, Both of them containing as much Benefit to the *English* as any Treaties which had been made before with those Crowns. He said,

it was very true, that there were some unusual Expressions of Kindness and Friendship in the Treaty with *Denmark*; which, in Respect of that King's being at that Time in a very low Condition, under the disadvantageous Conditions of the Treaty at *Copenhagen* newly submitted to, and under almost as ill a Treaty extorted from that Crown by the *Dutch*, and yet being in terrible Apprehension of some new Oppression from the one and from the other, the Ambassadour did very earnestly solicit to have inserted; and which were upon great Deliberation allowed and inserted by his Majesty's own particular Direction, in Consideration of the near Alliance in Blood between his Majesty and that King, and the Civilities and Obligations his Majesty had received from *Denmark*, during his being in *Holland* after the Murder of his Father, and during his being in *Scotland*, when the King of *Denmark* sent him Horses, Arms and Ammunition. Of which his Majesty had so great a Sense, that He was often heard to say, "that if it had pleased God to have brought him "Home before that disadvantageous Peace at *Copenhagen* had been made" (which had been done by the Countenance of the *English* Ships, and the Threats of ⁽⁵⁰³⁾ those who were then Ambassadors from the governing Power in *England*), "He would have done the best He "could to have defended and protected him:" And therefore He did very readily yield to that Article drawn by the Ambassadour, his Majesty declaring at the same Time, "that He was very willing that those "Princes who were Neighbours to *Denmark*, and "from whom that Kingdom apprehended new Oppressions, should know his Majesty's Resolutions to "support that King, and to defend him from new "Injuries;" to which the Policy of his Government, as well as his Friendship, inclined and obliged him; though it is very true, the King of *Denmark* did shortly after make very ill Returns to his Majesty for that his so signal Affection.

THESE were all the Treaties made by the King before the War with the *Dutch* (for there was very little Progress made either with *France* or *Spain* for the Reasons mentioned before), except only a short Treaty with the Elector of *Brandenburgh*; which Treaty was, for the most Part, particular with Reference only to the Prince of *Orange*, his Majesty's Nephew, and for the better ordering his Affairs. In which Treaty his Majesty likewise employed five or six of his Council: And the few Articles between his Majesty and that Elector in Point of State were likewise transacted by them, and debated and considered at the Council-Board, and in which all Things were inserted for his Majesty's Benefit and Service; and if They had not been afterwards violated by the Elector, the King would have reaped much Fruit and Advantage even from that Treaty.

AFTER the War was entered into with *Holland*, his Majesty sent Mr *Coventry* to *Sweden*, and Sir *Gilbert Talbot* to *Denmark*, to dispose those two Crowns to a Confidence in each other, and then to dispose them Both to adhere to his Majesty, or at least not to assist or favour the *Dutch*. The Treaty with *Sweden* succeeded to his Majesty's Wish, and was concluded in a League defensive, very much to the King's Satisfaction, and with the full Approbation of the whole Board; that Crown having manifested so much Affection, and such an Inclination to an entire Conjunction with him, that upon very reasonable Conditions They would have been induced to have entered into a League offensive, and even into the present War against the *Dutch*: In order to which, They sent their Ambassadors to the King at the same Time when Mr. *Coventry* returned, and They became the Mediators for the Peace; having first declared to his Majesty, "that if the Treaty should prove ineffectual, the Crown of *Sweden* would immediately join with his Majesty against the *Dutch*." What became of the other Treaty with *Denmark* is publicly known, his

his Majesty having declared to all the World how perfidiously He was treated by the *Dane*.

THERE remains only one other Treaty to be mentioned, which is the last with the *Dutch*, upon which the Peace was made: And therefore it will be necessary to set down the Inducements to that Treaty, the whole Progress and Conclusion of it; by all which it will easily appear that his Majesty was neither betrayed nor deluded in it, or, if He were, that it was not done by him.

AFTER so many Encounters and various Successes in the War, which had been carried with a much greater Expence than his Majesty at his first Entrance into it was persuaded it would cost him; when He saw the Strength and Power of the *Dutch* so much increased by the Conjunction of *France* and *Denmark*, who supplied them with Money, Ships, and, what They more wanted, with Men as many as They desired; and that all the Propositions He could make to *Spain* could not induce them to enter into such an Alliance ⁽⁵⁰⁴⁾ with him, as might embark them against *France*, notwithstanding it was evident to all but themselves, that the *French* resolved to break the Peace with them, having at that Time published those Declarations which They afterwards made the Ground of the War: His Majesty clearly discerned, that the *Dutch* grew less weary of the War than They had before seemed to have been; and that They would be able with that Assistance and Conjunction, to continue the War with less Inconvenience than his Majesty was like to do.

HE had found it necessary for straightening the Trade of the Enemy (the depriving them of which could only induce them to desire a Peace, and which He could not do by the Strength of his own Ships, which were still kept together to encounter their Fleet), to grant Commissions upon Letters of Marque to as many private Men of War as desired the same, and with such strict Orders and Limitations as are necessary in those

those Cases; and He found indeed the Advantage very great, in the Damage those Men of War did to the Enemy, which was considerable, and gave them great Trouble. On the other Side, the common Seamen chose much rather to go on Board those Men of War, where their Profit out of their Shares of the Booty was greater, and their Hazards much less, than in the King's Ships, where They got only Blows without Booty, though their Pay and Provisions were much greater than They had been in any former Time: So that when the Royal Fleet was to be set out, there was greater Difficulty in procuring Seamen and Mariners to man it.

AND then, whereas the Advancement of Trade was made the great End of the War, it was now found necessary to suppress all Trade, that there might be Mariners enough to furnish the Ships for the carrying on the War. And this Inconvenience produced another Mischief: For by the great Diminution and even Suppression of Trade, there was likewise so great a Fall in the Customs, Excise, and all other Branches of the King's Revenue, that it was evident enough that his Majesty would have little to carry on the War, but what should arise by Imposition in Parliament upon the People; who already complained loudly of the Decay of their Rents, of the small and low Prices which their Commodities yielded by the Cessation of Trade, and especially by the carrying all the Money *in Specie* from the several Counties to *London*, for the carrying on the War. And the Parliament itself appeared so weary of it, that instead of granting a new Supply proportionable to the Charge, They fell upon Expedients to raise Money by the Sale of Part of the King's Revenue, which was already too small to support the ordinary and necessary Expence of the Crown.

But above all, his Majesty was most discouraged by the extreme License of the Seamen in general; but especially of those who were called Privateers, set out in the particular Ships of War upon Adventure, who
made

no Distinction between Friends and Foes; but, as if the Sea had been their own Quarters, They seized upon all Ships which passed within their View, and either pillaged them entirely and so dismissed them (which They usually did to those which They foresaw would be delivered by the Course of Justice), or else brought them into the Harbours, after They had taken from them what They best liked. And then the formal Proceedings in the Court of Admiralty were so dilatory, and involved in so many Appeals, that the Prosecution of Justice for Injuries received grew as grievous as the Injury itself; which drew an universal Clamour from all Nations, "that without "being Parties to the War They were all treated as "Enemies."

FRANCE had made the Damage They had this Way⁽⁵⁰⁵⁾ received, and the Interruption of their Trade, a great Part of their Quarrel, and one Ground of their Conjunction with the *Dutch*. From *Spain*, which really wished better to us than to our Enemies, the Complaints were as great; "that their whole Trade was "destroyed; their Ships of *Flanders*, which supplied "Spain with what They wanted for themselves, and "with what was necessary for their Trade and Inter- "course with the *Indies*, were all taken as *Dutch*, be- "cause it was very hard to distinguish them by their "Language:" Which was likewise the Case of all the *Hanse-Towns*, which made grievous Complaints, and had without Doubt received great Damage. Those Princes of *Italy* whose Dominions reached to the Sea, as the two Republicks of *Venice* and *Genoa*, and the Duke of *Florence*, expostulated very grievously for their Ships taken by those Free-booters of *Scotland* and of *Ireland*, Both which Nations enriched themselves very much upon such Depredations. And how much soever the Royal Navy was weakened every Day, the Number of those Men of War daily increased; so that those Kind of Ships of *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, covered the whole Ocean: And
of

of those Ships which were taken and carried into *Scotland* or *Ireland* (in *England* there were many Redeliveries), it was observed, that there were *Vestigia nulla retrorsum*. Even *Sweden* itself, with whom a new stricter Alliance was entered into at that Time, with as severe Restrictions to that License of the Men of War as could be contrived for the Liberty and Security of the Trade of that Crown, complained exceedingly of the Violation of all those Concessions and Provisions, and that their Ships were every Day taken and plundered. And this universal Complaint began to awaken all Princes to a Jealousy, that the *English* endeavoured to restrain all Trade, till They could make themselves the entire Masters of it, and by their naval Power put some Imposition upon the whole Traffick of *Europe*.

It is very true, at the first Entrance into the War there had been many unskilful Expressions even in the Parliament itself, as well as in the frequent Discourses of Parliament-Men, "that by this War, and "by suppressing the Power of the *Dutch* at Sea" (of which They made not the least Doubt), "the King "would be able to give the Law to all the Trade of "the World, and that no Ships should pass the Sea "without paying some Tribute to *England*:" Which Liberty and Rashness of Discourse made great Impression upon those who wished Mischief enough to the *Dutch*, till They saw what Danger might ensue to themselves by the Success of the *English*; and thereupon wished that They might break themselves upon each other, without Advantage to either Party. And this general Distemper and Complaint made the deeper Impression upon the King, by his discerning an extreme Difficulty, if not an Impossibility, to give any just Remedy to it; and consequently, that He should be shortly looked upon as a common Enemy.

He had taken very great Pains, upon deliberate Consultations, to suppress that odious Irregularity and destructive License that was practised amongst the Seamen,

men, and had in many particular Cases himself examined the Excess, and caused exemplary Justice to be done upon the Offenders, and Restitution to be made of what had been taken, at least of what was left; for no Justice could preserve the injured Persons from being Losers. He had granted such Rules and Privileges and Protection to the Ports in *Flanders*, and to others of his Allies, as themselves desired, and looked upon as full Security; but then He quickly found, that from those very Ports and in those very Ships which enjoyed those Privileges, the Trade of the *Dutch* was driven on: So that it was evident that by that Liberty, which other Nations thought themselves in Justice entitled to, if not restrained, the *Hollanders* themselves would be easily able to carry on their whole Trade in the Ships of *Flanders*, *Hamburgb*, and the other free Towns, or in their own Ships owned by the other; and that the Restraint would likewise be impossible, without a total Suppression of those Men of War, and a Revocation of all Commissions granted to them or any of them, which would likewise be attended with the Freedom and Security of Trade to all his Majesty's Enemies.

IN the last Encounter at Sea, the *Prince Royal*, and three other of his Majesty's Navy, had been lost; and another, the *London*, had been burned in the River by the Negligence of the Seamen; for there was never any Discovery made, that there was any Purpose or Malice in it. The *French* had obliged themselves, that the Duke of *Beaufort*, Admiral of *France*, should, with the whole Fleet under his Command, amounting to eighteen good Ships, join with the *Dutch*; and the King of *Denmark* was likewise engaged to send all his great Ships, which were Ten or a Dozen, in Order to the like Conjunction: So that it was evident to his Majesty, that the Enemy would be much superiour to him in Strength and Power, though He had been able to have manned and set out all his Royal Navy; which He well foresaw He should not be able to do, both for Want of Money and Want of Seamen, who were al-

ready

ready in great Disorder and Mutiny for Want of their Pay, of which there was indeed a great Arrear due to them. And, which was worse, there was grown such an Animosity amongst the principal Officers of the Fleet between themselves, that the whole Discipline was corrupted; so that it was hard to resolve into what Hands to put the Government thereof, if it could have been made ready.

UPON which, and the whole State of Affairs, and upon Deliberation and frequent Consultation with the principal Officers of the Sea, and such others whose Experience in such Matters rendered them most capable to give Advice, the King found it most counselable to resolve to make a defensive War the next Year, and to lay up all his great Ships, and to have some Squadrons of the lighter Vessels to continue in several Quarters assigned to them, which should be ready to take all Advantages which should be offered; and that there should be likewise ready in the River another good Squadron of Ships against the End of the Summer, which being ready to join with those which lay out, when the Enemy was weary and their Ships foul, would be able to take many notable Advantages upon them; of which They who advised it were so confident, that They did believe this defensive Way thus ordered and prosecuted would prove a greater Damage to the Enemy in their Trade, and all other Respects, than They had ever undergone. And in all this Counsel and Resolution the Chancellor had no other Part than being present; and not understanding the Subject Matter of Debate could not be able to answer any of the Reasons that had been alledged.

THESE Considerations, upon a full Survey of his ill Condition at Home and abroad, induced the King to wish that there was a good End of the War; of which Inclination his Majesty vouchsafed to inform the Chancellor, well knowing that He would be very glad to contribute all He could to it, as a Thing He desired most in this World, and which He thought would

prove the greatest Benefit to the King and Kingdom; and his Majesty likewise told him, "that He found "all those, who had been most forward and impatient "to enter into this War, were now weary of it, and "would be glad of a Peace:" So that there remained now Nothing to do, but for his Majesty to advise with those whom He thought fit (for there seemed many Reasons to conceal both the Inclination to Peace, and the Resolution not to set out a Summer Fleet, from being publickly known), what Method to observe, and what Expedients to make Use of, for the better procuring this wished for Peace, without appearing to be too solicitous or importunate for it, or so weary of the War as in Truth He was. And to this Consultation the King was pleased to call together with his Royal Brother, Prince *Rupert*, the Chancellor, the General, the Lord Treasurer, and those other honourable Persons with whom He used to advise in his most secret and most important Affairs.

THAT which occurred first to consider was, whether there were any Hope to divide the *French* from the *Dutch*; upon which Supposition the Prospect was not unpleasant, the War with one of them being hopefully enough to be pursued; the Conjunction was only formidable. And to this Purpose several Attempts had been made both in *France* and in *Holland*; Both Sides being equally resolved not to separate from each other, till a joint Peace should be made with *England*, though They Both owned a Jealousy of each other: Those of *Holland* having a terrible Apprehension and Foresight of the King of *France's* Designs upon *Flanders*, which would make his Greatness too near a Neighbour to their Territories; besides that the Logick of his Demands upon the Devolution and Nullity of the Treaty upon the Marriage was equally applicable to their whole Interest, as it was to their Demands from the King of *Spain*. And *France*, upon all the Attacks They had made both in *France* with the *Dutch* Ambassadour

ambassadour there, and in *Holland* by their own Ambassadour, found clearly, that They were to expect no Assistance from the *Dutch* in their Designs, and that at least They wished them ill Success, and would probably contribute to it upon the first Occasion: And this made them willing to put an End to their so strict Alliance, which was already very chargeable to them, and not like to be attended with any notable Advantage, except in weakening an Ally from whom They might probably receive much more Advantage.

HOWEVER, neither the one nor the other would be induced to enter into any Treaty apart, though They Both seemed willing and desirous of a Peace; in Order to which, the *Dutch*, through the *Swedes* Ambassadors Hands, had writ to the King, "to offer a Treaty in any such neutral Place as his Majesty should make Choice of;" professing, "that They should make no Scruple of sending their Ambassadors directly to his Majesty, but that their Conjunction with the other two Crowns, who required a neutral Place, would not admit that Condescension." And at the same Time They intimated to the *Swedes* Ambassadors, "that the King of *France* would not send his Ambassadors into *Flanders*, or any Place of the King of *Spain's* Dominions;" and therefore wished, "that his Majesty would make Choice of *Dusseldorp*, *Cologne*, *Frankfort*, or *Hamburg*, or any other Place that his Majesty should think more convenient than the other, under that Exception:" All which Places, and in Truth any other out of the King of *Spain's* Dominions, were at such a Distance (the Winter being now near over), that there could be no reasonable Expectation of the Fruit of the Treaty in Time to prevent more Acts of Hostility.

How the Treaty came afterwards to be introduced by Overtures from *France*, and what Preliminaries were first proposed from thence by the Earl of *St. Albans*, and how agreed to by his Majesty; how the Place of the Treaty came to be adjusted, the Ambassadors

chosen, and the whole Progress thereupon, and the Publication of the Articles of the Peace; is so particularly set forth in this Narrative before †, that it needs not to be repeated here. And one of the Ambassadors repairing (as is there said) to the King, and giving him an Account of all that had passed before any Thing was concluded, and every Particular having been debated at the Council-Board and consented to; He said, He could not understand how his Majesty could be deluded or betrayed in that Treaty, which passed with such a full Examination and Disquisition, and in all which Debates his Majesty himself had taken the Pains to discourse more, and to enlarge in the Answer to all Objections which were foreseen, than He had been ever known to have done upon any other Article.

It is very true, that the Chancellor had been commanded by the King to write most of the Letters which had been sent to the Earl of *St. Albans*, from the Time of his going over concerning the Treaty, his Lordship having likewise directed most of his Letters to him; and most of the Dispatches to the Ambassadors were likewise prepared by him, They being by their Instructions (without his Desire or Privity) to transmit all Accounts to one of the Secretaries or to himself. But, He said, it was as true, that He never received a Letter from either of them, but it was read entirely, in his Majesty's Presence, to those Lords of the Council who were assigned for that Service, where Directions were given what Answer should be returned; and He never did return any Answer to either of them, without having first read it to the Council, or having first sent it to one of the Secretaries to be read to his Majesty. And He did with a very good Conscience protest to all the World, that He never did the least Thing, or give the least Advice, relating to the War or relating to the Peace, which He would not have done if He had been to expire the next Minute, and to have given an Account thereof to God Almighty.

AND as his Majesty prudently, piously and passionately desired to put an End to that War, so no Man appeared more delighted with the Peace when it was concluded, than his Majesty himself did; though (He said) as far as He could make any Judgment of publick Affairs, the Publication of that Peace was attended with the most universal Joy and Acclamation of the whole Nation, that can be imagined. Nor is it easy to forget the general Consternation that the City and People of all Conditions were in, when the *Dutch* came into the River as high as *Chatham*; and when the Distemper in the Court itself was so great, that many Persons of Quality and Title, in the Galleries and Privy Lodgings, very indecently every Day vented their Passions in bitter Execrations against those who had first counselled and brought on the War, wishing that an End were put to it by any Peace; some of which Persons, within very few Days after, as bitterly inveighed against the Peace itself, and against the Promoters of it. But, He said, He was yet so far from repenting or being ashamed of the Part He had in it, that He looked upon it as a great Honour, that the last Service He performed for his Majesty was the sealing the Proclamations, and other Instructions for the Conclusion and Perfection of that Peace, the Great Seal of *England* being that very Day sent for and taken from him.

THE SEVENTEENTH and last Article was, *That He* The seven-teenth Article.
was a principal Author of that fatal Counsel of dividing the Fleet about June 1666.

FOR Answer to this, He set down at large an Account of all the Agitation that was in Council upon that Affair, and that the dividing and Separation of the Fleet at that Time was by the Election and Advice of the two Generals, and not by the Order or Direction of the Council: All which hath been at large, in that Part of this Discourse which relates the Transactions of that Time †, set down, and therefore needs not to be again inserted.

He took Notice of the Prejudice that might befall him, in the Opinion of good Men, by his absenting himself, and thereby declining the full Examination and Trial which the publick Justice would have allowed him; which obliged him to set down all the Particulars which passed from the taking the Seal from him, the Messages He had received by the Bishop of *Hereford*, and finally the Advice and Command the Bishop of *Winchester* brought him from the Duke of *York* with the Approbation of the King. Upon all which, and the great Distemper that appeared in the two Houses at that Time, and which was pacified upon his withdrawing, He did hope, that all dispassioned Men would believe that He had not deserted and betrayed his own Innocence; but on the Contrary, that He had complied with that Obligation and Duty which He had always paid to his Majesty and to his Service, in choosing at that Time to sacrifice his own Honour to the least Intimation of his Majesty's Pleasure, and when the least Inconvenience might have befallen it by his Obstinacy, though in his own Defence: And concluded, that though his Enemies, who had by all the evil Arts imaginable contrived his Destruction, had yet the Power and the Credit to infuse into his Majesty's Ears Stories of Words spoken and Things done by him, of all which He was as innocent as He was at the Time of his Birth, and other Jealousies of a Nature so odious, that themselves had not the Confidence publicly to own; yet, He said, notwithstanding all those Disadvantages for the present, He did not despair, but that his Majesty, in his Goodness and Justice, might in due Time discover the foul Artifices which had been used to gain Credit with him, and would reflect graciously upon some poor Services (how over-rewarded soever) heretofore performed by him, the Memory whereof would prevail with him to think, that the banishing him out of his Country, and forcing him to seek his Bread in foreign Parts at this Age, is a very severe Judgment, However, He

was confident that Posterity will clearly discern his Innocence and Integrity in all those Particulars, which have been as untruly as maliciously laid to his Charge by Men who did Nothing before, or have done any Thing since, that will make them be thought to be wise or honest Men; and will believe his Misfortunes to have been much greater than his Faults.

As soon as He had digested and transmitted this his Answer and Vindication to his Children, which He did in a short Time after his Arrival at *Montpelier*, He appeared to all Men who conversed with him to be entirely possessed of so much Tranquillity of Mind, and so unconcerned in all that had been done to him or said of him, that Men believed the Temper to be affected with much Art; and that it could not be natural in a Man, who was known to have so great an Affection for his own Country, the Air and Climate thereof; and to take so much Delight and Pleasure in his Relations, from whom He was now banished, and at such a Distance, that He could not wish that They should undergo the Inconveniences in many Respects which were like to attend their making him many Visits. But when there was visibly always in him such a Vivacity and Chearfulness as could not be counterfeited, that was not interrupted nor clouded upon such ill News as came every Week out of *England*, of the Improvement of the Power and Insolence of his Enemies; all Men concluded, that He had Somewhat about him above a good Constitution, and prosecuted him with all the Offices of Civility and Respect They could manifest towards a Stranger.

- 10) THERE were two Inconveniences which He foresaw might happen, and could not but discompose the Serenity of his Mind. The first, and that which gave him least Apprehension, though He could not avoid the thinking of it, nor the Trouble of those Thoughts which could not be separated from it, was, how He should be able to draw as much Money out of *England* as would support his Expence; which,

The Chancellor enjoys great Tranquillity of Mind in his Banishment.

Two Apprehensions give him some Uneasiness.

1. The Insufficiency of his Fortune.

though husbanded with as much Frugality as could be used with any Decency, He foresaw would amount to a greater Proportion than He had proposed to himself. His Indisposition and Infirmary, which either kept him under the actual and sharp Visitation of the Gout, or, when the Vigour of that was abated, in much Weakness of his Limbs when the Pain was gone, were so great, that He could not be without the Attendance of four Servants about his own Person; having in those Seasons when He enjoyed most Health and underwent least Pain, his Knees, Legs and Feet so weak, that He could not walk, especially up or down Stairs, without the Help of two Men; and when He was seized upon by the Gout, They were not able to perform the Office of watching: So that to the *English* Servants which He had brought with him, which with a Cook, and a Maid to wash his Linen, amounted to six or seven, He was compelled to take four or five *French* Servants for the Market and other Offices of the House; and his Lodging cost him above two hundred *Pistoles*. But all the Apprehensions of this Kind were upon short Reflections composed, in the Assurance He had of the Affection and Piety of his Children, who He believed out of his and their own Estate would raise enough for his unavoidable Disbursements.

This soon removed by his Confidence in the Piety of his Children.

2. The Fear of being again persecuted a broad.

THE other Apprehension stuck closer to him, and made him even tremble in the very Reflection. He could not forget the Treatment He had between *Calais* and *Roan*, and the strange violent Importunity that was used to him to get out of the Kingdom; when He had not Strength to get out of his Bed. And though He was now at Ease from such inhuman Pressures; yet his Enemies, who had even extorted that Importunity from a People not inclined to such Incivilities, had still the same Power, and the same Malice, and a froppish Kind of Insolence, that delighted to deprive him of any Thing that pleased him, and manifestly pleased itself in vexing him. And if
They

They should again prevail with the same Ministers to remove him from his Quiet, and oblige him to new Journies, the same Spirit would chace him from Place to Place; there being none in View like to be superiour to their Influence, when *France* had been subdued by it. So that besides the Impossibility of preserving the Peace and Repose of his Mind in so grievous a Fatigue, and continual Torture of his Body, He saw no Hope of Rest but in his Grave. And against this Kind of Tyranny He could by no reasonable Discourse with himself provide any Security, or Stock of Courage to support it.

HIS Friend the Abbot *Mountague*, who was the only Advocate He had to that Court, used all his powerful Rhetorick to allay those Fears, and to comfort him against those melancholick Apprehensions, by assuring him, "that the Ministers were far from such Inclinations, and that Nothing but Reason of State could dispose them to that Severity:" Yet He prepared him not to think of removing from *Montpelier*, without first acquainting that Court with it. And when afterwards He proposed to him, "that He might have Leave to reside in *Orleans*, or some other City, at such a nearer Distance from *England*, that his Children or Friends might more easily repair to him;" the Court did not like the Proposition, but proposed *Molins*, whither They would not yet give him a Pass, till first their Ambassadour in *England* should know that it would not be unacceptable to his Majesty: So that He found himself upon the Matter not only banished from his Country, but confined to *Montpelier*, without any Assurance that He should not be again shortly banished from thence.

HOWEVER after He had revolved all the Expedients that occurred to him for the Prevention of such a Mischief, He concluded there was no other Remedy to be applied to those Contingencies, than in acquiescing in the good Pleasure of God, and depending upon him to enable him to bear what no Discretion

*This removed
by an entire
Resignation to
Providence.*

tion or Foresight of his own could prevent. And in this Composure of Mind He betook himself to his Books, and to the Entertainment and Exercise of such Thoughts, as were most like to divert him from others which would be more unpleasant.

*Reflections on
his undeserved
Treatment.*

God blessed him very much in this Composure and Retreat. And the first Consolation He administered to himself was, from the Reflection upon the wonderful and unusual Proceedings and Prosecution that had been against him, in another Kind of Manner, and after another Measure, than used to be practised by the most bitter Enemies, and than was necessary to their Ends and Advantages who had contrived them: Not to mention the Malice and Injustice of their first Design of removing him from the Trust and Credit He had with the King, and to alienate his Majesty's Affection and Kindness from him, to which the corrupt Hopes and Expectation of Benefit to themselves might incline them; and then such unrighteous Ends cannot naturally be prosecuted but by as unrighteous Means. When They were not only privy to but Contrivers of his Escape, which They looked upon as attended with more Benefit to them than his Imprisonment, or the taking his Life, could have been; when They were secure of his Absence, and of no more being troubled or contradicted by him, by the Bill of Banishment, by which They broke their Faith and Promises to the King, and made him depart from his own Resolutions: To what Purpose was all their other Prosecution of him both at Home and Abroad, more derogatory to the King's Honour, and that innate Goodness of Nature and Clemency that all Men know He abounds in, than mischievous to him? Why must He be absurdly charged with Counsels and Actions, of which He could never be suspected? And why must his Name be struck out of all Books of Council, and Catalogues and Lists of Servants, that it might not appear that He had ever been a Counsellor of State, or a Magistrate of Justice; a

Method that was never practised towards the greatest Malefactor? To what worthy or necessary End could that exorbitant Demand be made and pursued in *France*, to expose him and the Honour of that Crown to the general Reproach of all Men, with such unparalleled Circumstances?

THESE very extraordinary Attempts and unheard of Devices seemed to all wise Men but the last Effort of vulgar-spirited Persons, and the faint grasping of impotent Malice; and instead of depressing the Spirits of him They hated, raised his Confidence, that God would not permit such gross Inventions of very ill and shortsighted Men to triumph in the Ruin of an honest Man, whose Heart was always fixed upon his Protection, and whom He had so often preserved from more powerful Stratagems: And He did really believe, that the divine Justice would at some Time expose the Pride and Ambition of those Men to the Infamy They deserved.

To those Persons with whom He did with the most Freedom communicate, He did often profess, that upon the strictest Inquisition He could make into all his Actions from the Time of the King's Return, when his Condition was generally thought to have
 512) been very prosperous, though at best it was exercised with many Thorns which made it uneasy, He could not reflect upon any one Thing He had done (amongst many which He doubted not were justly liable to the Reproach of Weakness and Vanity), of which He was so much ashamed, as He was of the vast Expence He had made in the Building of his House; which had more contributed to that Gust of Envy that had so violently shaken him, than any Misdemeanor that He was thought to have been guilty of; and which had infinitely discomposed his whole Affairs, and broken his Estate. For all which He had no other Excuse to make, than that He was necessitated to quit the Habitation He was in at *Worcester-House*, which the Owner required, and for which He had always paid
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*Which raise
his Confidence
in God.*

*He reflects on
his Conduct
from the Time
of the King's
Return.*

*And blames
himself chiefly
for his Ex-
pence in Build-
ing.*

five hundred Pounds yearly Rent, and could not find any convenient House to live in except He built one himself (to which He was naturally too much inclined); and that He had so much Encouragement thereunto from the King himself, that his Majesty vouchsafed to appoint the Place upon which it should stand, and graciously to bestow the Inheritance of the Land upon him after a short Term of Years, which He purchased from the present Possessor: Which Approbation and Bounty of his Majesty was his greatest Encouragement. And his own Unskilfulness in Architecture, and the positive Undertaking of a Gentleman (who had Skill enough, and a good Reward for his Skill), that the Expence should not amount to a third Part of what in Truth it afterwards amounted to, which He could without eminent Inconvenience have disbursed, involved him in that rash Enterprize, that proved so fatal and mischievous to him; not only in the Accumulation of Envy and Prejudice that it brought upon him, but in the Entanglement of a great Debt, that broke all his Measures; and, under the Weight of his sudden, unexpected Misfortune, made his Condition very uneasy, and near insupportable.

AND this He took all Occasions to confess, and to reproach himself with the Folly of it. And yet, when his Children and his nearest Friends proposed and advised the Sale of it in his Banishment, for the Payment of his Debts, and making some Provision for two younger Children; He remained still so much infatuated with the Delight He had enjoyed, that, though He was deprived of it, He hearkened very unwillingly to the Advice; and expressly refused to approve it, until such a Sum should be offered for it, as held some Proportion to the Money He had laid out; and could not conceal some Confidence He had, that He should live to be restored to it, and to be vindicated from the Brand He suffered under, except his particular compleat Ruin were involved in the general Distraction and Confusion of his Country, of which He had a more sensible and serious Apprehension.

HE was wont to say, "that of the infinite Blessings which God had vouchsafed to confer upon him almost from his Cradle," amongst which He delighted in the reckoning up many signal Instances, "He esteemed himself so happy in none as in his three Acquiescences," which He called *his three Vacations and Retreats He had in his Life enjoyed from Business of Trouble and Vexation*; and in every of which God had given him Grace and Opportunity to make full Reflections upon his Actions, and his Observations upon what He had done himself, and what He had seen others do and suffer; to repair the Breaches in his own Mind, and to fortify himself with new Resolutions against future Encounters, in an entire Resignation of all his Thoughts and Purposes into the Disposal of God Almighty, and in a firm Confidence of his Protection and Deliverance in all the Difficulties He should be obliged to contend with; towards the obtaining whereof, He renewed those Vows and Promises of Integrity and hearty Endeavour to perform his Duty, which are the only Means to procure the Continuance of that Protection and Deliverance.

THE first of these Recesses or Acquiescences was, his remaining and residing in *Jersey*, when the Prince of *Wales*, his now Majesty, first went into *France* upon the Command of the Queen his Mother, contrary, as to the Time, to the Opinion of the Council the King his Father had directed him to govern himself by, and, as They conceived, contrary to his Majesty's own Judgment, the knowing whereof They only waited for; and his Stay there, during that Time that his Highness first remained at *Paris* and *St. Germain's*, until his Expedition afterwards to the Fleet and in the *Dorens*. His second was, when He was sent by his Majesty as his Ambassadour, together with the Lord *Cottington*, into *Spain*; in which two full Years were spent before He waited upon the King again. And the third was his last Recess, by the Disgrace He underwent, and by the Act of Banishment.

His three Acquiescences, or Retreats from publick Business.

The great Benefits He received in them. ment. In which three Acquiescences, He had learned more, knew himself and other Men much better, and served God and his Country with more Devotion, and He hoped more effectually, than in all the other more active Part of his Life.

A summary Recapitulation of his Life.

HE used to say, that He spent too much of his younger Years in Company and Conversation, and too little with Books; which was in some Degree repaired, by the greatest Part of his Conversation being with Persons of very eminent Parts of Learning and Virtue, and never with Men of loose and debauched Manners. And He took great Pleasure frequently to remember and mention the Names of those with whom He kept most Company, when He first entered into the World; many whereof lived to be very eminent in Church and State: To whose Information and Example, and to the Affection, Awe and Reverence He had to their Persons, He did acknowledge to owe all that was commendable in him. He did very much affect to be loved and esteemed amongst Men of good Name and Reputation, which made him warily avoid the Company of loose and dissolute Men, and to preserve himself from any notable Scandal of any Kind, and to live *cautè*, if not *castè*. Nor was the Conversation He lived in liable to any other Exception, than that it was with Men superiour to him in their Quality and their Fortunes, which exposed him to greater Expence than his Fortune would warrant: And yet it pleased God to preserve him from ever undergoing any Reproach or Inconvenience.

HE accused himself of entering too soon out of a Life of Ease and Pleasure and too much Idleness, into a Life of too much Business, that required more Labour and Experience and Knowledge than He was supplied for; for He put on his Gown as soon as He was called to the Bar; and, by the Countenance of Persons in Place and Authority, as soon engaged himself in the Business of the Profession as He put on his Gown, and to that Degree in Practice, that gave lit-

tle

the Time for Study, that He had too much neglected before; besides that He still indulged to his beloved Conversation. Few Years passed before the Troubles in *Scotland* appeared, and *The little Parliament* was convened; which being dissolved and presently a new one called, He was a Member in Both, and wholly gave himself up to the publick Affairs agitated there, and where He was enough esteemed and employed, till the Spirit reigned there, and drove Men of his Principles from thence.

HE was entirely and without Reserve trusted, with two other of his Friends, in all the King's Affairs which related to the Parliament, before the Rebellion appeared; which brought him into Prejudice and Jealousy with many of Both Houses, who were before very kind to him. And in the Beginning of the Rebellion He was sworn of the Privy Council and made Chancellor of the Exchequer: And from this Time the Pains He took, and the great Fatigue He underwent, were notorious to all Men; insomuch as the Refreshment of Dinner excepted, for He never supped, He had very little of the Day, and not much of the Night, vacant from the most important Business.

WHEN the Prince was separated from his Father, the King commanded him to attend his Highness into the *West*, under a more than common Trust: And the Inequality of Humours amongst the Counsellors, the Wants and Necessities of the Prince his little Court and Family, the Want of Wisdom in his Governour, that made him want that Respect from the Prince and all other People that was due to him, the Faction amongst all the Country Gentlemen, and above all, the ill Success in the King's Affairs, and the Prevalence of the Parliament in all Places, made the Province He had very uncomfortable and uneasy. The unavoidable Necessity of transporting the Person of the Prince out of the Kingdom (which was intrusted only to four of the Council by the King, and
by

by his Command reserved from his Governour and another) when there should be apparent Danger of his falling into the Hands of the Rebels, and the as necessary deferring it till that Danger was even in View, and the Designs of some of the Prince his Servants with the County to obstruct and prevent it when it was in View; the executing of it in a seasonable Article of Time before or in the Moment that it was suspected, and disguising it by a Retreat to *Scilly*, and staying there till They could be provided for a farther Voyage; and then the Prince's Remove from thence to *Jersey*, the Contests which happened there between the Counsellors upon the Queen's Commands for his Highness's present Repair into *France*, her Majesty's declared Displeasure, and the personal Animosities which grew from thence between the Persons in the greatest Trust, were all Particulars of that Weight and Distraction, that made great Impression upon his Mind and Faculties, which needed much Reflection and Contemplation to compose them.

His first Retreat in the Island of Jersey.

THIS first Retreat gave him Opportunity and Leisure to call himself to a strict Account for whatsoever He had done, upon revolving of all his particular Actions, and the Behaviour of other Men; and to compose those Affections and allay those Passions, which, in the Warmth of perpetual Actions and chafed by continual Contradictions, had Need of Rest and cool and deliberate Cogitations. He had now Time to mend his Understanding, and to correct the Defects and Infirmities of his Nature, by the Observation of and Reflection upon the Grounds and Successes of those Counsels He had been privy to, upon the several Tempers and Distempers of Men employed both in the martial and civil Affairs of the greatest Importance, and upon the Experience He had and the Observation He had made in the three or four last Years, where the Part He had acted himself differed so much from all the former Transactions and Commerce of his Life.

He had originally in his Nature so great a Tenderness and Love towards Mankind, that He did not only detest all calumniating and Detraction towards the lessening the Credit or Parts or Reputation of any Man, but did really believe that all Men were such as They seemed or appeared to be; that They had the same Justice and Candour and Goodness in their Nature, that They professed to have; and thought no Men to be wicked and dishonest and corrupt, but those who in their Manners and Lives gave unquestionable Evidence of it; and even amongst those He did think most to err and do amiss, rather out of Weakness and Ignorance, for Want of Friends and good Counsel, than out of the Malice and Wickedness of their Natures.

BUT now, upon the Observation and Experience He had in the Parliament (and He believed He could have made the Discovery no where else, without Doubt not so soon), He reformed all those Mistakes, and mended that easiness of his Understanding. He had seen those there, upon whose Ingenuity and Probity He would willingly have deposited all his Concernments of this World, behave themselves with that signal Uningenuity and Improbability that must pull up all Confidence by the Roots; Men of the most unsuspected Integrity, and of the greatest Eminence for their Piety and Devotion, most industrious to impose upon and to cozen Men of weaker Parts and Understanding, upon the Credit of their Sincerity, to concur with them in mischievous Opinions, which They did not comprehend, and which conduced to dishonest Actions They did not intend. He saw the most bloody and inhuman Rebellion contrived by them who were generally believed to be the most solicitous and zealous for the Peace and Prosperity of the Kingdom, with such Art and Subtilty, and so great Pretences to Religion, that it looked like Illnature to believe that such sanctified Persons could entertain any but holy Purposes. In a Word, Religion was made a Cloak to

cover the most impious Designs; and Reputation of Honesty, a Stratagem to deceive and cheat others who had no Mind to be wicked. The Court was as full of Murmuring, Ingratitude and Treachery, and as willing and ready to rebel against the best and most bountiful Master in the World, as the Country and the City. A barbarous and bloody Fierceness and Savageness had extinguished all Relations, hardened the Hearts and Bowels of all Men; and an universal Malice and Animosity had even covered the most innocent and best-natured People and Nation upon the Earth.

THESE unavoidable Reflections first made him discern, how weak and foolish all his former Imaginations had been, and how blind a Surveyor He had been of the Inclinations and Affections of the Heart of Man; and it made him likewise conclude from thence, how uncomfortable and vain the Dependence must be upon any Thing in this World, where whatsoever is good and desirable *suddenly perisbeth*, and Nothing is lasting but *the Folly and Wickedness of the Inhabitants thereof*. In this first Vacation, He had Leisure to read many learned and pious Books; and here He began to compose his MEDITATIONS UPON THE PSALMS, by applying those Devotions to the present Afflictions and Calamities of his King and Country. He began now by the especial Encouragement of the King, who was then a Prisoner in the Army, to write THE HISTORY OF THE LATE REBELLION AND CIVIL WARS, and finished the four first Books thereof; and made an Entry upon some Exercises of Devotion, which He lived to enlarge afterwards.

WHEN He had enjoyed, in that pleasant Island of *Jersey*, full two Years, in as great Serenity of Mind as the Separation from Country, Wife and Children can be imagined to admit, He received a Command from the Queen, then at *St. Germain's*, and an express Order from the King, upon which the other had been sent, his Majesty being then Prisoner in the Isle of *Wight*, that He should forthwith attend the Person of the

the Prince of *Wales*, who, upon the Revolt of the Ships under the Command of the Parliament in the *Downs*, and their Profession of Obedience to the King, was advised to make all possible Haste to them; and the Chancellor was required to wait upon his Highness at *Roan* upon a Day assigned, which was past before the Orders came to him.

516) AND then without any Delay He used all possible Diligence to find the Prince; who with greater Expedition, without coming to *Roan*, passed to *Calais*, and from thence to *Holland* to possess the Ships which He found there, and possessed with all that Alacrity (which is always very loud) that Seamen can express; and by the Assistance of the Prince of *Orange* got more Victual quickly on Board, that He might be in the *Downs* with the Fleet to second some Attempt which was already on Foot in *Kent*, and others expected in several Parts of the Kingdom. And the Chancellor having in his Way called upon the Lord *Cottington* at *Roan*, and together with him, and some other Persons of Honour and Quality, made what Haste They could to *Dieppe*, that They might there embark for any Place where They should hear the Prince to be; there They were informed, that his Highness was at the *Brill* in *Holland*. And thereupon They put themselves on Board a *French* Man of War, and upon the Sea were taken Prisoners by *Ostenders*, who, upon the Advantage of being in the Ship of an Enemy, concluded them to be lawful Prize, and treated them accordingly, with all the Circumstances of Barbarity; and after having plundered them thoroughly of Money and Jewels of great Value, and stripped most of their Servants to their Shirts, They carried them in great Triumph to *Ostend*; where though their Persons were used with Civility and Respect, and presently set at Liberty, yet They were compelled to stay there many Days, in Hope to obtain the Jewels and Money of which They had been robbed, and, finding that not to be done (those Privateers being subject to no Disci-

pline, nor regarding the Orders of the Admiralty, or any other Governour), to make such Provision as was necessary for a further Voyage. And at last They got from *Ostend* to *Flushing*, having found Means to inform the Prince of their Misadventures, and of their Readiness at *Flushing* to receive and obey his Commands.

THE Fleet was then in the *Downs* in so good a Posture, by the Access of other Ships and Vessels to it, and by some notable Commotions on Land, that the Prospect was fair and hopeful. And the Prince received the Advertisement no sooner, than He was pleased to send a Frigate to *Flushing* for those who had been so long expected. But the Winds proved then so cross and tempestuous in the gentlest Season of the Year, that after several Attempts at Sea, They were so often driven back again into the Harbour, sometimes by very dangerous Storms, that in the End They received new Directions, to attend the Prince at the *Hague*, the Fleet being at the same Time under Sail for that Coast.

THE Earl of *Lautherdale* was at that Time come to the Fleet as Commissioner from the Kingdom of *Scotland*, to inform the Prince, that Duke *Hamilton* with a powerful Army was already marched into *England*; and thereupon to invite his Highness, to make what Haste He could, to put himself in the Head of that Army, according to a Promise the King had made in some private Treaty with the *Scots*; and which the Queen had sent very positive Commands to be observed and obeyed. This was the Reason, not without other more reasonable Motives, so suddenly to quit the *Downs*, that He might get more Victual for the Fleet, and therewith sail to the *North*, and disembark in such a Place as should be nearest to the *Scots* Army, with which He doubted not to find a very considerable Conjunction of the *English*; since He knew that Sir *Marmaduke Langdale* had possessed himself with a Body of *English* Officers and Gentlemen, of *Berwick*, and Sir *Philip Musgrave* had done the same with the like Assistance, at *Carlisle*, before the *Scots* began their March.

517) THE Lord *Cottington* and the Chancellor came to the *Hague* the next Day after the Prince his Arrival, and were very graciously received by his Highness, and with a wonderful Kindness by all the Court, and all the Gentlemen who had attended upon him; not so much out of Affection to them, as out of Detestation of one another, who had kept Company for the Space of two Months last past.

THE Prince had found the common Seamen full of such a keen Devotion for his Service upon the true Principles of the Cause, and for the Redemption of the King his Father out of Prison, and so full of Indignation against those who had formerly misled them into Rebellion, especially the *Presbyterians*; that as They had before the Declaration set all those Officers on Shore by Force, who were appointed by the Parliament to command them, so now They thought the new ones which They had chosen for themselves, not fierce and resolute enough for their Purposes. The Truth is; there had been much unskilful Tampering amongst them by Emissaries from *Paris*, and other Attempts. And the Duke of *York*, having made his Escape very little Time before, and being then at the *Hague* when the Fleet came to *Helvoetsluys*, upon the first Notice lost no Time in making Haste to them. It was generally known, that the King his Father had long designed to make him High Admiral of *England*; and the Commission which had been formerly granted to the Earl of *Northumberland* They all knew to be repealed and cancelled: So that He no sooner came to the Fleet, but He was received with the usual Acclamations of Joy as their Admiral, and He as cheerfully assumed the Command. And his small Family presently began to propagate their several Factions and Animosities, with which They abounded, to make such Parties amongst the Seamen as might advance their several Pretences. And in this Posture the Prince found the Fleet when He came to it, and resolved to take the Command immediately into his own Hand,

and that the Duke should remain at the *Hague* with his Sister, till that Expedition were over; and so He made Haste with the Fleet into the *Downs*, hoping that some present Occasion would be the best Expedient to extinguish that Fire, and compose those Distempers, which He discerned already to be kindled amongst the Seamen.

THE Advice and Instruction which were brought from *Paris* were grounded upon the Treaty with *Scotland*, the marching of that Army, and the Expectation of some notable Attempt by the Presbyterian Party in *London*; in Order to which, all Address was to be made to that City, and a Declaration to be published to gratify that Party. This Secret was intrusted only to one of the Council, and one other who was to be ministerial in whatsoever the other directed. And this Temper was quickly discovered when They came into the *Downs*, by the great Care that was taken to give no Offence or Interruption to the Trade of the City, which all Men believed would be the best Means to reduce it. Ships of Return, richly laden, were suffered quietly to pass thither; others coming from thence, very well freighted, were likewise quietly permitted to prosecute their Voyage: All which was passionately opposed by Prince *Rupert* and all the rest of the Council. And this Contradiction was quickly known to the Lords of the Bedchamber, and others, who had no Reverence for that Council, and were now the more inflamed upon this Division of Opinion. And the Seamen likewise coming to take Notice of it cried out, "the Prince was betrayed;" and grew into such Rage and Fury, that They declared, "that They would throw those overboard who gave the Prince such evil Counsel." Two or three unprosperous Attempts at Land, and then the Lord *Lautherdale's* coming thither, and the Order thereupon for the Fleet to sail presently for *Holland* for the Reasons aforesaid, kindled all those Sparkles into a bright Flame of Diffension, so universal, that there were very few who
spake

spake with any Civility of one another, or without the highest Animosity that can be imagined.

THIS was the distracted Condition of Affairs when the Lord *Cottington* and the Chancellor came to the *Hague*; the Council divided between themselves, and more offended with the Court for Presumption in making themselves of the Council, and opposing whatsoever the other directed, by their private Whispering to the Prince in Reproach of them, and their publick Murmurings against their Persons for the Counsel They gave, every Man endeavouring to incense others against those who were not affected by him; and this ill Humour increased by such an universal Poverty, that very few knew where to find a Subsistence for three Months to come, or how to dispose of themselves. The Clamour from the Fleet was so high for new Victual and for Money, that there was Apprehension just enough, that They would provide for themselves by returning to their old Station; to which They had both Opportunity and Invitation, by the Parliament's having set out another Fleet superiour in Power to them, that were already at Anchor in their View, under the Command of the Earl of *Warwick*, to block them up in that inconvenient Harbour. The sudden News of the total Defeat of the *Scots Army*; and shortly after the Loss of *Colchester*, and taking the Persons of so many gallant Gentlemen, and murdering some of them in cold Blood; the daily warm Conteſts in Council upon the insolent Behaviour and the unreasonable Demands of the Lord *Lautherdale*, who as peremptorily insisted upon the Prince's going immediately with the Fleet into *Scotland*, as He had done before the total Defeat of Duke *Hamilton*, and without expecting to hear what Alteration that fatal Change had produced in that Kingdom, which was very reasonable to apprehend, and in Truth had at that Time really fallen out: These and many other ill Presages made the Chancellor quickly find, that in his two Years Repose in *Jersey* He had not fortified himself enough

against future Assaults, nor laid in Ballast to be prepared to ride out the Storms and Tempests that He was like to be engaged in.

THE Preservation of the Fleet was a Consideration that would bear no-Delay; and was in a short Time, though with infinite Difficulties and Contests full of Animosity, resolved to be by committing the Charge of it to Prince *Rupert*, who was to carry it into *Ireland*, where were many good Ports in his Majesty's Obedience. But that was no sooner done, but the horrid Murder of the King, and the formed Dissolution of the Monarchy there, and erecting and establishing the Government in that Kingdom with a seeming general Consent, at least without any visible Appearance or Possibility of Contradiction or Opposition; the faint Proclamation of the present King in *Scotland*, under the same Conditions which They would have imposed, and with all the Circumstances with which They had prosecuted the Rebellion against his Father; the Resolution what was fit for the young King to undertake in his own Person, and the dismal Prospect, how all the neighbour Princes were solicitous not to pay him any such Civilities, as might encourage him to expect any Thing from them; were all Arguments of Perplexity and Consternation to all Men, who had been moderately versed in the Transaction of Affairs; and were too many Things to be looked upon at once, and yet could not be effectually looked upon but together. So that the Chancellor used to say, "that all the Business He had been conversant in, from the Beginning to his coming to the *Hague*, had not administered Half the Difficulties and Disconsolation, had⁽⁵¹⁹⁾ not Half so much disturbed and distracted his Understanding, and broken his Mind, as the next six Months from that Time had done." Nor could He see any Light before him to present a Way to the King, by entering into which He might hopefully avoid the greatest Misery that ever Prince had been exposed to, His own particular Condition (under so general a Mortification)

Mortification) afflicted him very little, having long composed himself by a Resolution, with God's Blessing, to do his Duty without Hesitation, and to leave all the rest to the Disposition of Providence.

WHEN the Fleet was committed to the Government of Prince *Rupert* to embark for *Ireland*, it was enough foreseen by those who foresaw what naturally might fall out, that *Ireland* was probably like to be the Place whither it might be the most counsellable for the Prince himself to repair. But as it was not then seasonable in many Respects to publish such an Imagination; so it was not possible to keep the Fleet where it then was, or in any Port of the Dominions of *Holland*, where the *States* were already perplexed what Answer They should return if the new Commonwealth should demand the Ships, or whether They were not obliged to deliver them: And therefore no Time was to be lost. Nor was the Voyage itself like to be secure, but by the Benefit of the Winter Season, and the unquiet Seas They were to pass through; which would have made it too dangerous a Voyage for the Person of the Prince, who must find a shorter Passage thither, when it should be necessary.

WHEN that inhuman Impiety was acted at *London*, and the young King had in some Degree recovered his Spirits from the sudden Astonishment, and had received the vile Proclamation and Propositions from *Scotland*, his Majesty with those few who were of nearest Trust concluded, "that it would be shortly of Necessity to transport himself into *Ireland*;" which was to be the highest Secret, that it might be equally unsuspected in *England* and in *Scotland*. "That He should *incognito*, or with a light Train, pass through *France* to *Nants*, or some other Port of *Bretagne*, where two or three Ships of War, which He could not doubt of obtaining by the Favour of his Brother the Prince of *Orange*, might attend him; and from thence He might with the least Hazard embark for the neatest Coast of *Ireland*, where the Marquis of *Ormond* might meet him."

THIS

THIS being concluded in that Manner, the Lord *Cottington* went in a Morning to the King before He was dressed; and desired, “that when He was ready, He would give him a private Audience in his Closet.” He there told him, “that his Majesty had taken the most prudent Resolution that his Condition would admit, for *Ireland*; where there remained yet some Foundation for Hope. That for himself He was so old and infirm” (for to his seventy five Years, which was then his Age, He had frequent and painful Visitations of the Gout and the Stone), “that his Majesty could not expect his personal Attendance in so many Journeys by Land as He must be exposed to: Yet having served the Crown throughout the Reign of his Grandfather and his Father, He was very desirous to finish his Life in his Majesty’s Service.”

“THAT He had reflected upon the woful Condition his Affairs were in, not more by the Power of his Rebels, than by being abandoned by all his neighbour Princes. That it was too apparent, that neither of them would embark themselves in his Quarrel; so that the utmost He could hope from them was, that in some secret Manner They might contribute such a Supply and Relief to him, as might give him a Subsistence, till some new Accidents and Alterations at Home or abroad might produce a more seasonable Conjuncture. That even in that Particular, He doubted the Magnanimity or Generosity of Princes would not be very conspicuous: However it being all his present Dependance, He must try all the Ways He could to provoke them to that Disposition.”

“THAT He knew the Crown of *Spain* was so low at that Time, that whatever their Inclinations might be, They could neither supply him with Ships or Men or Money towards the raising or supporting of an Army: Yet that He knew too, that there is such a Proportion of Honour, and of a generous Compassion and Bounty, that is inseparable from that Crown,

“Crown, and even runs through that People, which
 “other Nations are not inspired with. And He was
 “confident, that if his Majesty sent an Ambassadour
 “thither, how necessitous soever that Court might be,
 “it would never refuse to make such an Assignment
 “of Money to him as might, well husbanded, pro-
 “vide a decent Support for him in *Ireland*; where
 “likewise the King of *Spain* had Power to do his Ma-
 “jesty more Offices than any other Prince could do,
 “or He any where else, by the universal Influence He
 “had upon the *Irish* Nation. And General *Owen*
 “*O Neile*, who was the only Man that then obstructed
 “the Union of that People in a Submission to the
 “King, had been bred up in the Court of *Spain*, and
 “had spent all his Time in the Service of that Crown,
 “and had still his sole Dependance upon it; and there-
 “fore it was to be presumed, that He might be in-
 “duced by Direction from *Madrid*, to conform him-
 “self to a Conjunction with the Marquis of *Ormond*,
 “the King’s Lieutenant there.” He said, “that his
 “Majesty knew well that He had spent a great Part of
 “his Life in that Court, in the Service of his Grand-
 “father and Father; and He would be willing to end
 “his Days there, if it were thought of Use to his
 “Affairs.”

THE Discourse was too reasonable not to make Im-
 pression upon the King; which discovering in his
 Countenance, the other desired him, “that He would
 “think that Day upon all that He had said, without
 “communicating it to any Body, till the next Morn-
 “ing, when He would again wait on him to know his
 “Opinion upon the Whole; for if his Majesty should
 “approve of what He proposed, He had another Par-
 “ticular to offer, before the Matter should be pub-
 “lickly debated.” When He came the next Morn-
 ing, and found the King was much pleased with what
 He had before discoursed, and asked what the other
 Particular was that He intended to offer; the Lord
 Cottington

Cottingham told him, "that He was very glad his Majesty was so well pleased with what He had proposed, which He confessed the more He had resolved himself, the more hopeful the Success appeared to him; which made him the more solicitous, that through any Inadvertency such a Design might not miscarry."

He put him then in Mind again "of his great Age, how unlike it was that He should be able to hold out such a Journey, or, if He did, the Fatigue thereof would probably cast him into a Fit of the Gout or the Stone, or Both, which if He should outlive, He should be long detained from the Prosecution of his Business, which the less vigorously pursued would be more ineffectual;" and therefore proposed, "that He might have a Companion with him, of more Youth and a stronger Constitution, who would receive some Benefit by the Information and Advice He should be able to give him, the Advantage whereof would redound for the present, and might more in the future, to the King's Service;" and in Fine proposed, "that the Chancellor of the Exchequer might be joined in the Commission with him, and accompany him into *Spain*, from whence if They made Haste in their Journey, They might make such a Progress in that Court, that He might be able to attend his Majesty in *Ireland* in a very short Time after his Arrival there; whilst himself remained still at *Madrid*, to prosecute all farther Opportunities to advance his Service."

THE King was surprised with the Overture; and asked, "whether the Chancellor would be willing to undertake the Employment, and whether He had spoken with him of it." To which the other presently replied, "that He knew not, nor had ever spoke to him of it, nor would do, till his Majesty, if He liked it, should first prepare him; for He knew well He would at first be startled at it, and it may
"be

“ be might take it unkindly. That He knew well
“ how much of the Weight of his Business lay upon
“ the Chancellor’s Shoulders, and in that Respect that
“ many others would not be willing He should be ab-
“ sent: Yet that there was a long Vacation in View,
“ and there could be little to be done till the King
“ should come into *Ireland*; and by that Time He
“ might be with him again, with such a Return from
“ *Spain* as might be welcome and convenient to him.
“ And therefore if his Majesty would first break the
“ Matter to him, He would then take the Work
“ upon him; and He believed He should give him
“ such Reasons, since He could not suspect his Friend-
“ ship” (which was very notorious, and They lived
“ then together), “ as would dispose him to the
“ Journey.”

WHEN the King spake to him of it, as a Thing
that had resulted from his own Thoughts; “ that He
“ had more Hope to obtain some Supply from *Spain*,
“ than from any other Place; that no Man could be
“ so fit to solicit it as the Lord *Cottington*, and No-
“ body so fit to accompany him as He, who might
“ be with him in *Ireland* in a short Time;” He said,
“ He had spoken with Lord *Cottington* to undertake
“ the Employment, to which He was not averse;
“ but He had expressly refused to undertake it alone,
“ and He knew that no Companion would be so ac-
“ ceptable to him as He would be.”

THE Chancellor did not at first dissemble the Ap-
prehension, that this Device had been contrived at
Paris, where He knew that neither of them were ac-
ceptable, nor were wished to be about the King, or
to have so much Credit with him as They were Both
thought to have: But the King quickly expelled that
Jealousy. And He desired a short Time to consider
of it; and received such Reasons (besides Kindness
in the Invitation) from the Lord *Cottington*, that He
did not submit only to the King’s Pleasure, but very
willingly

willingly undertook the Employment: And, though it was afterwards delayed by the Importunity of many, and the Queen's own Advice, who thought the Chancellor's Attendance about the Person of the King her Son to be more useful to his Service, than it was like to be in the other Climate, the King was firm to his Purpose; and dispatched them shortly after his coming into *France*, when He resolved and prepared for his own Expedition into *Ireland*, in Order to which there were then some *Dutch Ships* of War that waited for him at *St. Maloes*.

*His second
Retreat in
Spain.*

THIS was the Occasion and Ground of his second Retreat and Recess from a very uneasy Condition, of which He was not more weary in Respect of the Difficulty and Melancholy of the Business, from which He could not entirely disentangle himself by Absence, than in Respect of the Company He was to keep in the conducting it, who had Humours and Inclinations uneasy to him, irresolute in themselves, and contrary for the most Part to his Judgment. And He did still acknowledge, that He did receive much Refreshment and Benefit by that Negotiation. For though the Employment proved ineffectual to the Purposes for which it was intended, by the King's finding it necessary to divert his intended Journey for *Ireland*, into that of *Scotland*; yet He had Vacancy to recollect and compose his broken Thoughts; and mended his Understanding, in the Observation and Experience of another Kind of Negotiation than He had formerly been acquainted with, under the Assistance, Advice and Friendship of the most able Person, and the best acquainted with foreign Negotiations and the general Interests of the several Kings and States in *Christendom*, of any Statesman then alive in *Europe*, and who delighted in giving him all the Information He could. He was conversant in a Court of another Nature and Humour, of another Kind of Grandeur and Gravity, of another Constitution and Policy; and where Ambassadors

bassadours are more esteemed and regarded, and live with more Conversation and a better Intelligence amongst themselves, than in any other Court in the World.

THE less of Business He had, He was the more vacant to study the Language and the Manners and the Government of that Nation. He made a Collection of and read many of the best Books which are extant in that Language, especially in the Histories of their Civil and Ecclesiastical State. Upon the reading the Pontifical History written by *Illescas* in two Volumes, and continued by one or two others in three other Volumes, He begun there first his ANIMADVERSIONS UPON THE SUPERIORITY and SUPREMACY OF THE POPE, which He afterwards continued to a perfect Work. Here He resumed the Continuation of his DEVOTIONS ON THE PSALMS, and other Discourses of Piety and Devotion, which He reviewed and enlarged in his later Times of Leisure. Though He underwent in this Employment many Mortifications of several Kinds, yet He still acknowledged that He learned much during the Time of his being in *Spain*, from whence He returned a little before the Battle of *Worcester*; and after the King's miraculous Escape into *France*, He quickly waited upon his Majesty, and was never separated from his Person, till sixteen or seventeen Years after by his Banishment.

THIS He called his third and most blessed Recess, His third Retreat after his Banishment. in which God vouchsafed to exercise many of his Mercies towards him. And though He entered into it with many very disconsolate Circumstances; yet in a short Time, upon the Recovery of a better State of Health, and being remitted into a Posture of Ease and Quietness, and secure from the Power of his Enemies, He recovered likewise a marvellous Tranquillity and Serenity of Mind, by making a strict Review and Recollection into all the Actions, all the Faults and Follies, committed by himself

himself and others in his last continued Fatigue of seventeen or eighteen Years; in which He had received very many signal Instances of God's Favour, and in which He had so behaved himself, that He had the good Opinion and Friendship of those of the best Fame, Reputation and Interest, and was generally believed to have deserved very well of the King and Kingdom.

IN all this Retirement He was very seldom vacant, and then only when He was under some sharp Visitation of the Gout, from reading excellent Books, or writing some Animadversions and Exercitations of his own, as appears by the Papers and Notes which He left. He learned the *Italian* and *French* Languages, in which He read many of the choicest Books. Now He finished the Work which his Heart was most set upon, THE HISTORY OF THE LATE CIVIL WARS AND TRANSACTIONS TO THE TIME OF THE KING'S RETURN IN THE YEAR 1660; of which He gave the King Advertisement. He finished his REFLECTIONS AND DEVOTIONS UPON THE PSALMS OF DAVID; which He dedicated to his Children; which was ended at *Montpelier* before the Death of the Dutchesse. He wrote and finished his ANSWER TO MR. HOBBS HIS LEVIATHAN, to which He prefixed an Epistle dedicatory to the King, if his Majesty would permit it. He wrote a good Volume of ESSAYS, DIVINE, MORAL, AND POLITICAL, to which He was always adding. He prepared a DISCOURSE HISTORICAL OF THE PRETENCE AND PRACTICE OF THE SUCCESSIVE POPES FROM THE BEGINNING OF THAT JURISDICTION THEY ASSUME; in which He thought He had fully vindicated the Power and Authority of that odious Usurpation. He entered upon the forming a METHOD FOR THE BETTER DISPOSING THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND, THAT IT MAY BE MORE PROFITABLY AND EXACTLY COMMUNICATED THAN

IT HATH YET BEEN. He left so many Papers of several Kinds, and cut out so many Pieces of Work, that a Man may conclude, that He never intended to be idle.

IN a Word, He did not only by all possible Administrations subdue his Affections and Passions, to make his Mind conformable to his present Fortune; but did all He could to lay in a Stock of Patience and Provision, that might support him in any future Exigent or Calamity that might befall him: Yet with a chearful Expectation, that God would deliver him from that powerful Combination which then oppressed him.

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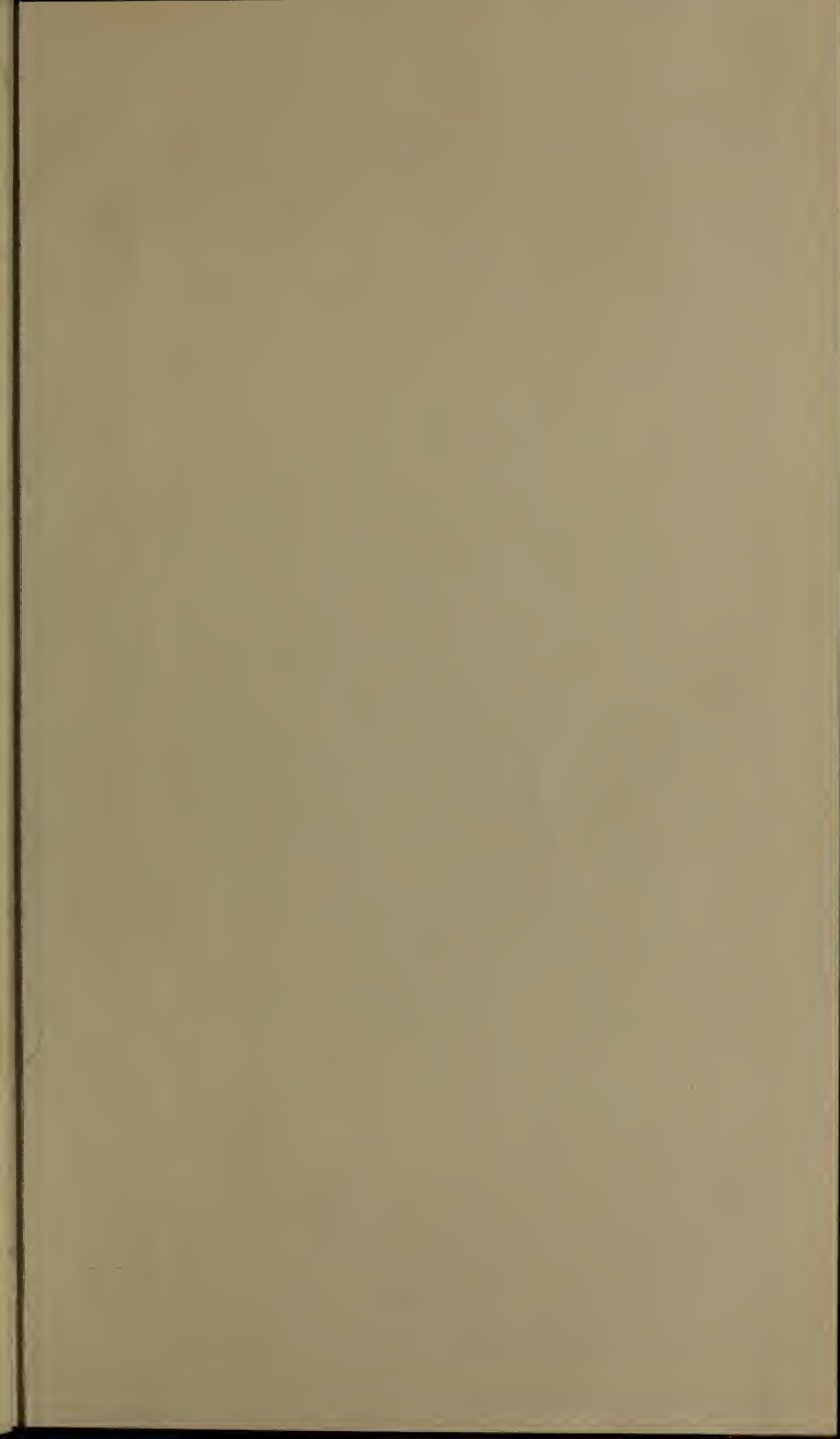
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